

The Verbal Phrase in Mandinka

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by

Ronald Ernest Parkin

School of Oriental and African Studies  
University of London

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## Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to offer a description of the verbal phrase in Mandinka in terms of its two main constituents, the verb and the verbal operator, and to give an account of the functions of the members of the class of operators.

After a short introduction to the Mandinka people and their language (Chapter One) and an outline of the phonology (Chapter Two), the verbal phrase is considered in respect of its internal structure and its position in the clause, and the group of basic clause types set up (Chapter Three).

In Chapter Four the constituents of the verbal phrase are described, a syntactically-based classification of the verbs into three sets is established, and a categorisation given of the operators, which serve as simultaneous exponents of terms from a number of grammatical categories. This chapter also contains an outline of the general structure of the nominal phrase.

The following three chapters deal with the various exponential values of the operators and the combination of the verbs be and te with certain adjuncts: Chapter Five covers aspectual features, Chapter Six tense distinctions and Chapter Seven modal characteristics.

Chapter Eight describes the role of certain items in conjunction reduction, as substitute forms for operators and some verbs within a sequence of clauses.

There are two appendices: the first gives a list of the verbs found in the narratives provided by the main informant and the second includes statistical information which summarises the distribution and the properties of combination of a number of verbs.

The thesis concludes with a bibliography.

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Finally, but not least, I express my thanks to my wife for the patience and understanding she has shown during the course of the study.

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## Abbreviations and Symbols

### Phonetic and Phonological

/ /	-	Phonemic transcription (Chapter 2 and pp. 76, 79, 111, 243, 246, 248, 249)
[ ]	-	Phonetic transcription
ˊ	-	Moving tone
ˉ	-	Level tone
—	-	Level pitch (enclosed in square brackets)
\	-	Falling pitch (enclosed in square brackets)
/	-	Rising pitch (enclosed in square brackets)
C	-	Consonant
C <sup>s</sup>	-	Syllabic consonant
V	-	Vowel (except Chapter 3)
→	-	'is realised as'

### Others

1s	-	First person singular pronominal
2s	-	Second person singular pronominal
3s	-	Third person singular pronominal
1pl	-	First person plural pronominal
2pl	-	Second person plural pronominal
3pl	-	Third person plural pronominal

//	-	Sentence boundary	-	presupposing
/	-	Clause boundary		
cmpl.	-	Completive		
conj.	-	Conjunctive form		
det.	-	Determiner		
hab.	-	Habitative		
ind.	-	Indicative		
inj.	-	Injunctive		
intens.	-	Intensifier		
(intens)	-	Intensified form of the pronominal		
intr.	-	Intransitive		
MgCl	-	Marginal clause		
NCl	-	Nominal clause		
NCl(Int.)	-	Interrogative nominal clause		
NCl(Voc.)	-	Vocative nominal clause		
neg.	-	Negative		
non-fut.	-	Non-future		
NP	-	Nominal phrase		
Op	-	Verbal operator		
Op <sub>a</sub>	-	Type (a) operator		
Op <sub>b</sub>	-	Type (b) operator		
pl.suff.	-	Plural suffix		
pos.	-	Positive		
pot.	-	Potential		

(Ref)	-	Reflexive verb
reflx.	-	Reflexive pronominal
Stat.Part.	-	Stative participle
tr.	-	Transitive
V	-	Verb (Chapter 3)
V <sub>x</sub>	-	Type (x) verb
V <sub>y</sub>	-	Type (y) verb

Unless they appear in citations from the corpus, in which case they are enclosed in slant lines to indicate the clause boundaries, the orthographic representations of Mandinka words or sequences of words are underlined.

The initial letter of an English word referring to a grammatical category established to explain the function of the verbal operators is capitalised and the names for the terms subsumed beneath such categories are enclosed in quotes to delimit them from the categories themselves.

All other abbreviations or symbols used are explained as they arise.

## Chapter One

### Introduction

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## Chapter One

### Introduction

#### 1.0. The Mandinka People and Language

At present the Mandinka people and those, like the Bambara and Dyula, who have strong cultural and language ties with them are spread over wide areas of West Africa, reaching from The Gambia and Senegal in the west to Mali in the east and southwards to Upper Volta, the two Guineas, the Ivory Coast and parts of Sierra Leone and Liberia. Reliable figures on the actual number of Mandinka speakers in this area are not obtainable since quite often the census returns, for this part of Africa at least, show groupings based on a fairly wide language classification, bringing together under the same heading people who speak related, though not necessarily mutually-intelligible, languages. But the following figures give some indication of the extent of the Mandinka and related peoples in West Africa:

The Gambia: 128,807 (Mandinka speakers)<sup>1</sup>

Senegal: 198,000 (Mandinka and related groups)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 1963 census figures. <sup>2</sup> This figure, quoted in Le Senegal-Population, Langues, Programmes Scolaires by The Centre of Applied Linguistics, Dakar, includes Bambara, Sose, Malinké and Mandinka speakers.

Mali: 206,000 (Malinké<sup>3</sup> speakers)<sup>4</sup>

Portuguese Guinea: 63,800 (Mandinka speakers)<sup>5</sup>

Republic of Guinea: 1,207,100 (Mandinka and related speakers)<sup>6</sup>

Liberia: 29,750 (Mandinka speakers)<sup>7</sup>

In addition to these there are substantial minority groups of Mandinka speakers in Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone.

The Mandinka people point to Manding, located on the Upper Niger, as their place of origin and it is from this locality that they take their name, Màndinkoolu<sup>8</sup> 'Manding people'. It was there, c.1235 A.D., that the people of Manding, under the energetic and decisive leadership of their king, Sunjata, threw off the overlordship of the Susu and their king, Sumanguru, and established the Mali Empire by military conquest and commercial penetration of the surrounding areas. By the time of the rule of Mansa Musa (c.1312-1337) and his brother, Mansa Suleiman (c.1341-1360), the empire extended from what is present-day Senegal and The Gambia in the west to beyond Gao in the east and from the southern part of the Sahara in the north

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<sup>3</sup> The differences in grammatical structure, vocabulary and phonology between Mandinka and Malinké are very slight.

<sup>4</sup> 1960-61 census. <sup>5</sup> 1950 census. <sup>6</sup> 1958 census.

<sup>7</sup> 1962 census. <sup>8</sup> Details of the adopted orthography are to be found in section 2.4.

to almost the northern limits of the forest in the south. Thus, at the time of the fall of the Mali Empire, between the years 1464 and 1492, the people of Manding were well established in West Africa and, although from that time political power passed to the Songhai, they appear to have retained certain rights of land tenure and to have so exploited the commercial possibilities of the area that they acquired an economic, if not political, hegemony which has, in certain parts, extended to the present day.<sup>9</sup>

The dispersal outwards from Manding, associated with military conquest and commercial penetration, has probably been an important factor in the growth of the gradually diverging dialects which have given rise to contemporary Mandinka, Bambara and Dyula. Mandinka is mainly spoken to the north-west and west of the original Manding homeland and Dyula to the east and south-east; Bambara is spoken within, and to the north-east and east of, Manding.

The Mandinka people refer to their language as Màndinkakango 'Manding-person language'. In this study the language will be referred to as 'Mandinka' and, to avoid confusion, the people will be referred to as 'the Mandinka people', as has been done so far in this section.

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<sup>9</sup> Fage (1969:21-28) and Levtzion (1963) provide the source material for this brief outline.

Although Malinke is quoted in the classification of African languages set up by Greenberg, Mandinka is not, but is clearly to be allocated to the Western Mande sub-family of the larger Niger-Congo unit (Greenberg, 1963:8).

#### 1.1. Previous Studies and Available Material

Since the area in which Mandinka is spoken has long been open to Islamic and European influence, the first from North Africa across the desert and the second from the coastal regions in the west, there are numerous, even if scattered, references to Mandinka from the time of the fourteenth century onwards, one of the first, it appears, being by the Arab historian Ibn-Khaldun, the writer of a chronicle of the kings of the Mali Empire in the fourteenth century (Levtzion, 1963:343, footnote 18).

The available material on Mandinka falls into two broad types, lexical and grammatical. There have been a number of word-lists and occasional citations by colonial officers, travellers and missionaries who visited the area and some of these are listed in the bibliography. There are four grammatical studies which deal with the Mandinka spoken in and around The Gambia, by MacBrair (1837), Hamlyn (1935), Gamble (1949) and Rowlands (1959), and one covering Mandinka, Bambara and Dyula throughout the former French colonial territories, by Labouret (1934).

The comments made here will be confined to an assessment of these studies in providing an adequate evaluation of the functions associated with certain verbal operators<sup>10</sup> and in constructing a suitable classification of the verbs, since the present study is primarily concerned with this part of the language.

There are some apparently crucial disagreements in the studies under review connected with the status and usage of certain verbal operators and with the verbal system as a whole. Perhaps the most important of these relate to the function of the operators ye, ta and mang,<sup>11</sup> si<sup>12</sup> and ka and buka<sup>13</sup> and approaches to the question of a passive voice in Mandinka.<sup>14</sup> In addition to this the problems concerning the classification of the verbs and the extent of functional overlap within the operator system have either not been raised or, if so, have been left unresolved. As a sample of the disagreements found it is possible to cite the conclusions reached on the question of the past tense, the usages of the operator si and the usefulness of setting up a passive voice as a relevant category-term for the language.

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<sup>10</sup> The verbal operators are listed in section 4.2.1.

<sup>11</sup> Treated in detail in Chapter Six.

<sup>12</sup> Details in Chapter Seven. <sup>13</sup> Details in Chapter Five

<sup>14</sup> Section 4.2.2.4.

MacBrair (1837:14-16), Hamlyn (1935:12) and Gamble (1949:9-10) agree in maintaining that Mandinka has a past tense, marked by ye, ta and mang. Rowlands (1959:74), bringing forward much more evidence from the language to support his claim, reaches the conclusion that there are no clear-cut distinctions of time marked by the operators.

The operator si has posed several problems for the writers on the language: MacBrair (1837:17) and Hamlyn (1935:15) see it as a marker of a future tense; Gamble (1949:11) and Rowlands (1959:81), however, relate its usage to notions of necessity and inevitability or to an emphatic future tense.

Although MacBrair (1837:23) suggests that 'the passive voice is wanting' in the language, he does give one instance of what he calls an 'aorist passive' form. But Hamlyn (1935:24) claims that there is a regular passive form of the verb and in this has the agreement of Gamble (1949:12), though the latter qualifies the statement by adding that the passive is comparatively rarely used. Rowlands (1959:74) comments that there are no forms which correspond to the passive in English and other languages. Labouret (1934:198) remarks that there is no passive voice in the related languages but that there are many verbs with a double meaning which are to be translated into French by the reflexive or passive voice.

In the present study these problems will be treated

and solutions offered in subsequent chapters. It will be seen that in fact the solutions proposed in the previous studies are, to a certain extent, partial and that they are not by any means mutually exclusive, in spite of their apparently basic differences. The various accounts can be reconciled.

## 1.2. The Present Study

The corpus on which the present study is based consists of over thirty hours of recorded material collected in The Gambia from September 1969 to August 1970. The recordings were played through and checked with the main informant during the same period and supplemented by further notes as the field-work proceeded. Although ten Mandinka speakers in all from various parts of The Gambia provided recorded texts it is found convenient, for the purposes of consistency, to limit the greater number of citations within the present study to those taken from the narratives recorded by the main informant, Lamin Kamara, aged 25 years, from Kudang, in the MacCarthy Island Division, who provided half of the recorded material.

It was found that all the informants had the same general system of usage for the operators and the verbs, even if slight differences in the phonological system and the distribution of certain lexical items were encountered from place to place. But where material from other dialects

proves useful in clarification of certain points within the verbal system (e.g. with nene, section 4.2.5.) citations will be given from the texts of other informants and it will be noted there that this is the case. The table of verbs in Appendix A is based on the distribution of verbs within the texts of the main informant but a check has been made to ensure that they correspond in their syntactic behaviour with the same verbs in other narratives and are not peculiar to the idiolect of the main informant.

The recordings are made up of several stories, generally with an obvious moral, with animal and human protagonists, narratives on everyday life among the Mandinka people, such as descriptions of agricultural techniques, festivals, marriages and other topics of a cultural character, sayings, riddles and about a hundred proverbs. In addition to this there are a number of narratives of a historical nature, on the lives of the kings of the Mali Empire and on Mohammed and other religious leaders and several traditional tales about petty kings of the area to the accompaniment of the kora, a string instrument.

Since the conclusions reached in the present study are based on data collected from informants in The Gambia itself, no claims are made for the applicability of the results to other, possibly more divergent, dialects outside that area, even though it was found that speakers from



the Casamance in Senegal to the south of The Gambia did use a comparable verbal system without any obviously major differences.<sup>15</sup> Although there may be a relative uniformity in the operation of the verbal system among speakers of different dialects of Mandinka over a wide area, the results here are claimed to be valid only for Mandinka speakers in the general locality of The Gambia.

The aim of the present study is to offer a general description of the verbal phrase in terms of its two basic constituents, the verb and the verbal operator, and to give an account of the possibilities of combination shown by the verb and to examine the usages of the verbal operators and attempt to correlate them with such factors as time-sequence and degrees of certainty in the mind of the speaker. Although other constituents of the clause, such as the nominal phrase (section 4.1.), will be treated briefly, no attempt will be made to incorporate the verbal phrase in any detailed and systematic way into larger structures since such an approach lies outside the scope of this study.

There is no prior commitment to any particular theory of grammatical description; although the approach in Chapter Three is essentially 'taxonomic', alternative suggestions will be made for the derivation of the clause

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<sup>15</sup> Verbal information from speakers from that area.

types established there by reference to a recent study of Bambara. The terms and methods used in the description are employed as they are found suitable in stating and attempting to solve the relevant problems.

### 1.3. Typology of Mandinka

Mandinka is a tone language, differences of relative pitch often being significant in distinguishing lexical items. It is also a fairly isolating language but there are agglutinative features in nominal and verbal compounds (sections 4.1. and 4.2.2.2.).

## Chapter Two

### Outline of Mandinka Phonology

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## Chapter Two

### Outline of Mandinka Phonology

#### 2.0. Introductory

As this study is concerned primarily with the verbal phrase and not with the phonological organisation of Mandinka the treatment of the phonology will be restricted to an outline. In some cases, such as the types of syllabic and tonal patterns encountered, discussion will be limited to the way in which the constituents of the verbal phrase conform to the established patterns.

#### 2.1. Consonants

The following is the inventory of consonant phonemes in Mandinka:<sup>1</sup>

p	t	k
b	d	(g)
		ɬ
		ɗ
f	s	h
m	n	ɲ ɳ
	l	
	r	
w		j

<sup>1</sup> The values are those assigned by the I.P.A.

/g/ is bracketed because of its marginal position in the phonological system, occurring only in loans, such as /gáadini/ 'garden', and then only in the speech of those who are acquainted with English or French. /k/ substitutes for /g/ in loans for those not acquainted with these languages.

The pre-palatal affricates, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/, and the post-alveolar fricative, /s/, sometimes have the effect of fronting a following back vowel, whether short or long, so that /dʒuubee/ 'examine' may appear as /dʒiibee/ and /sùusee/ 'chicken' as /siisee/, even in the same idiolect.

/t/ and /d/ are alveolar, /s/ is post-alveolar with secondary palatal articulation, /l/ is clear in all positions, /r/ is a single alveolar flap, and /h/ is the 'voiced' type.

/p/, /t/ and /k/ are slightly aspirated in all positions, and /b/ and /d/ are fully voiced throughout.

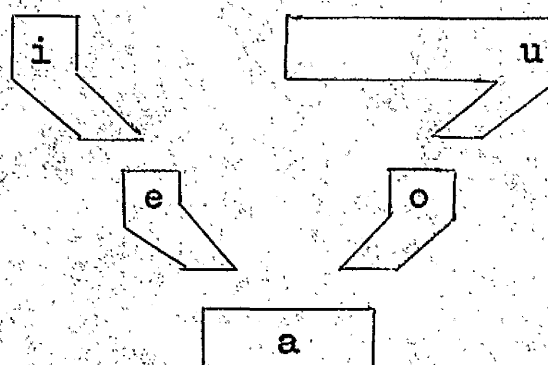
/p/ and /r/ are of limited distribution and, except in loans, occur only in intervocalic position in the word. In loan-words they may appear in word-initial position, as in /rídi/ 'curtain' (from French) and /péesa/ 'weigh' (from French or Portuguese). They may also appear in initial position in ideophones, but these are not examined here.

Among the allophonic variants to be noted are advanced and retracted varieties of /k/ before front and

back vowels respectively,<sup>2</sup> the occasional voicing of /s/ in intervocalic position, as in /kósi/ 'sound' and /ɕàasi/ 'level', and the palatalisation of /w/ to [ɥ] before front vowels, as in /wísitee/ 'search'.

## 2.2. Vowels

The vowels and the area of distribution of their allophones can be shown in the following schema, where the enclosed area shows the range of the various allophones to be discussed:



Length is phonemic and distinguishes such items as /ti/ 'with' and /tíi/ 'fly', /te/ 'not be' and /tèe/ 'break', /ma/ 'to' and /maa/ 'touch', /fó/ 'say' and /fóo/ 'miss', and /mu/ '(equative) be' and /mùu/ 'daub'. The vowels, when long, have approximately the cardinal values, except that /o/ occupies a position mid-way between the positions filled by the sixth and seventh cardinal vowels.

<sup>2</sup> The fronting of /k/ is most marked in the Baddibu dialect, where it appears as [c] before /i/ and /e/.

The values of the long vowels remain relatively constant in all environments, but the short vowels have varying qualities, conditioned by their environment:

1. In closed syllables of the type CVC there is a lowering of /i/, /e/, /o/ and /u/ to [ɪ], [ɛ], [ɔ] and [ʊ]. /a/ remains unaffected. In this case also, where the first consonant is oral and the second nasal the intervening vowel is partly nasalised. If both the consonants are nasal, the intervening vowel is fully nasalised, as /nũŋ/ 'then', which is phonetically [nũ̃ŋ], and /nẽŋ/ 'insult', phonetically [nẽ̃ŋ].
2. In syllables of the type CV there is a slight lowering of /i/, /e/, /o/ and /u/ from their position as long vowels, but not so noticeably as in closed syllables.
3. In sentence-final position the short vowels have almost the values of their lengthened counterparts. After /p/, /t/, /k/, /f/ or /s/ in this position the short vowels may be devoiced, so that before pause /lápi/ 'beat', /káti/ 'break', /táki/ 'strike', /káfu/ 'join up' and /bòsi/ 'peel' may be realised phonetically as [lapɪ̥], [katɪ̥], [takɪ̥], [kafu̥] and [bosɪ̥].
4. After /s/, /ʈ/, /ɖ/, /ɟ/ and /j/, and before /j/ in a following word /u/ is fronted to [ü], as in /sũŋ/ 'fast', /ɖũmaa/ 'who?' and /mòolu je/ 'for the people', phonetically [sũ̃ŋ], [ɖũ̃maa] and [moolũ̃ je].

### 2.3. Tone

A fully detailed account of the two varieties of phonemic tone which are to be established for Mandinka with a description of the conditioning of these types within the utterance has been given by Rowlands (1959: passim). It is made clear there that the variations in relative pitch occurring in the utterance are referable, at the phonological level, to two types of tone, labelled here 'level tone' and 'moving tone'.<sup>3</sup> These phonemic tones range not over the syllable but the word, so that one mark (an acute accent on the first syllable of the word for level tone and a grave accent on the first syllable of the word for moving tone) suffices to indicate the tone marking applicable to the word. In addition to the two basic types there are certain items, called here 'tonal enclitics', which have no independent tonal patterning but take their relative pitch within the utterance from the pitch of the elements in the immediate environment. These tonal enclitics are not marked in the orthography.

Briefly, in level tone words the pitch remains level over the extent of the word<sup>4</sup> and in moving tone words

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<sup>3</sup> Rowlands (1959:21) uses the terms 'level accent' and 'moving accent' but they are not employed here, in order to avoid an unnecessary association with word-stress.

<sup>4</sup> In sentence-final position, where there is a general down-drift in the intonation contour of the utterance, tone distinctions cease to operate.



it may rise, fall or remain level according to the environment in which the word is found. The specific conditions in which moving tone is realised as rising, falling or level pitch have been described by Rowlands (1959:21-36); it is possible to indicate some of the differences of pitch which occur by an examination of some of the pitch modifications which a moving tone word, /bàtaa/ 'tire', may undergo when placed in a number of different frames.

When cited in isolation the first syllable of /bàtaa/ is relatively lower in pitch than the onset of the fall in pitch which follows in the second syllable, [ \_ \ ] . When /bàtaa/ is present as the first element of a compound, the second of which is a level tone word, as in /bàtaakuu/ 'tiring affair' (cf. /kúu/ 'affair'), both syllables of /bàtaa/ are relatively lower in pitch than the level pitch of /kúu/, [ \_ \_ - ] . If /bàtaa/ follows a level tone pronominal and a verbal operator which is a tonal enclitic, as in the frame /áli si bàtaa džée/ 'you(plural) might become tired there', the first syllable of /bàtaa/ is relatively higher in pitch than the second, [ - - - - - ] . But if /bàtaa/ is placed after a pronominal which does not have level tone,<sup>5</sup> and this pronominal is followed by an operator which is a tonal enclitic, as in /ì si bàtaa

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<sup>5</sup> Full details of the tonal patterning of pronominals are given by Rowlands (1959:55-64).

ǫ́ée/ 'they might become tired there' the second syllable of /bataa/ is relatively higher in pitch than the first, [ \_ \_ \_ \_ ].

Words which are identical in terms of their segmental phonemes may differ only in their tonal characteristics. One such pair consists of /fàa/ '(cause) die' or 'killing' or 'dying'<sup>6</sup> and /fáa/ 'fill' or 'filling', differentiated within the utterance by their pitch patterns:

1. /fàa/ may combine as the first element of a compound with /kúu/ 'affair' or 'matter', as /fàakuu/ 'a matter of killing' or 'a matter of dying', the phonetic pitch pattern of which is [ \_ - ]. But when /fáa/ combines with the same item the phonetic pitch realisation is [ - \_ ], and the resulting compound has the meaning 'a matter of filling'.
2. After a level tone pronominal, such as /áli/ 'you (plural)', /fáa/ has a relatively lower level pitch than that of /áli/, while /fàa/ has falling pitch in such an environment, as in /áli fáa ta ǫ́ée/ 'you became full there', realised in phonetic pitch terms as [ - - - - \_ ], and /áli fàa ta ǫ́ée/ 'you died there', realised in pitch terms as [ - - \ - \_ ].
3. When /fáa/ follows a pronominal which does not have

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<sup>6</sup> Verbs which have the feature of causation as part of their transitivity function are discussed in section 4.2.2.3. Verbal nominals are treated in section 4.1.1.

level tone, such as /i/ 'they', it has a relatively higher level pitch than the pronominal, as in /i fáa ta dʒée/ 'they became full there', phonetically [ \_ - - \_ ]. But if /fáa/ appears after such a pronominal, it has the same relatively low level pitch as the pronominal itself,<sup>7</sup> as in /i fáa ta/ 'they died', phonetically [ \_ \_ - ] in its pitch pattern.

Further details on the various pitch realisations as they apply to the verbal operators and the verbs are found in sections 4.2.1.1. and 4.2.2.5.

#### 2.4. The Orthography

The orthography adopted here is essentially that devised by Rowlands (1959:1-20) with certain minor modifications. It differs from the I.P.A symbols above in the following respects:

<u>I.P.A symbol</u>	<u>Orthography</u>
tʰ	c
dʒ	j
ŋ	ng
ɲ	ny
j	y

Vowel length is indicated by doubled letters and lengthened /ŋ / and /ɲ / by 'nng' and 'nny' respectively.

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<sup>7</sup> Rowlands (1959:55-64) sometimes refers to 'moving accent pronouns' as 'low level pronouns' to distinguish them from the 'level accent pronouns'.

Morphophonemic alternation is not indicated in all cases in the orthography and the assimilation of the velar nasal to the point of articulation of any following consonant and the change in consonant quality which may result as a consequence of this (cf. section 2.6.) is only shown in internal position in compounds, whether these are verbal (section 4.2.2.2.) or nominal (section 4.1.). Vowel assimilation, which is especially noticeable in the fusions of the verbal operators with following pronominals (section 4.2.1.1.) is indicated in the orthography and is signalled by an apostrophe, which also marks the occasional loss of a vowel after /r/ or /l/, as in kòr'daa 'compound', the full form of which is kòridaa.

The marking of tone used in the orthography is as described in section 2.3.

## 2.5. Syllabic Structure

The possible syllabic structure for the word in Mandinka may be summarised by the formula:

$$(C) (C) \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C^S \\ V \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{c} (C) \\ (V) \end{array}$$

where round brackets indicate that the enclosed item may be optionally chosen and braces that one of the enclosed

items is to be selected.

This formula differs from the one which describes the syllabic structure of the verb (cf. section 4.2.2.1.) in allowing syllables of the type which contain only a vowel (V) or a syllabic consonant (C<sup>S</sup>). Such a pattern in Mandinka is confined to the syllabic structure of the pronominals, ng 'I', i 'you (singular)', à 'he', 'she' or 'it', ng 'we', áli 'you (plural)', syllabically á-li, and i 'they', to the suffixed determiner, -o, and to the patterning of some loan-words, as Ála 'God', which is analysed in syllabic terms as Á-la.

One phenomenon not consistently accounted for was the sporadic appearance of the velar nasal in some syllables of the type CVC<sup>8</sup> as a free variant for the CV type, as in kóteng 'another' for kóte and nyíning 'seek' for nyíni. Although this could sometimes be ascribed to differences of dialect<sup>9</sup> such variation was often free and could be found in the same idiolect.<sup>10</sup>

## 2.6. Assimilation

The assimilation of the velar nasal to the point

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<sup>8</sup> Except in some loan-words, as elek 'elect', and some ideophonic elements, as ferfer 'whistle at', the second consonant of such a structure is invariably /ŋ/.

<sup>9</sup> nyíni, for example, occurs in the Baddibu dialect and nyíning in the dialect of Kudang.

<sup>10</sup> This was especially so before pause.

of articulation of the following consonant and the retention or loss of nasal quality consequent upon this is restricted to the pronominals ng 'I' and ng 'we', and to the final consonant in syllables of CVC structure. Two types of assimilatory process may be delimited, unilateral and bi-lateral.

Unilateral assimilation may be regressive or progressive where vowel fusions operate, but is only regressive in the case of the velar nasal. Where unilateral regressive assimilation takes place, the segment which influences the quality of the preceding nasal remains itself qualitatively unchanged.

A number of changes in the quality of /ŋ/ occur as the result of the presence of a following consonant. These may be summarised:

1. Before /p/, /b/ and /m/ the realisation of /ŋ/ is [m] .
2. Before /f/ it is [ɱ] .
3. Before /t/, /d/, /n/, /r/ and /s/ it is [n] .
4. Before /l/ it is [ɺ] .
5. Before /tʃ/, /dʒ/ and /ɹ/ it is [ɹ̥] .
6. Before /j/ it is [j] .

There is no change in the quality of /ŋ/ before pause, vowels,<sup>11</sup> and in front of /k/, /g/, /w/, /h/ and /ŋ/ .

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<sup>11</sup> But cf. the assimilations associated with the verbal operator mang in section 4.2.1.1.

Bi-lateral assimilation, where there is a two-way qualitative influence in operation, only affects the velar nasal when it appears before the initial consonant of a restricted number of items. These are the intensifier, le, the plural suffix, -lu, the 'agentive' suffix, -laa, and the postposition la.<sup>12</sup> The assimilation of the velar nasal to /l/ in such environments results in [nn], where the nasal consonant assumes the feature of alveolarity of /l/ and the alveolar consonant the feature of nasality of /ŋ/.

Vowel assimilations, as they commonly arise as a consequence of the fusion of the final vowel of a verbal operator with a following pronominal, where such a pronominal consists wholly, as i 'you', a 'he', 'she' or 'it' and i 'they', or in part, as ali 'you (plural)', of a vowel or vowels, are covered in section 4.2.1.1. on the morphophonemics of the verbal operators.

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<sup>12</sup> The one characteristic which these elements have in common is their status as tonal enclitics.

## Chapter Three

### The Verbal Phrase and the Clause

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## Chapter Three

### The Verbal Phrase and the Clause

#### 3.0. Introductory

In this chapter the verbal phrase is examined in terms of its position in the clause and in terms of its internal structure. The clause types containing the verbal phrase are compared, albeit briefly, with two other types, nominal and marginal.

#### 3.1. Clause Types

Since this study is primarily concerned with the classification of the constituents of the verbal phrase together with an account of the functions of these constituents, it is not proposed to offer a detailed and systematic description of the whole grammatical structure of Mandinka or of the structure and function of other items which co-occur with the verbal phrase in larger grammatical contexts. But in order to place the verbal phrase within the grammar as a whole and to clarify the citations given it is felt necessary to sketch in the main clause types and to give some account, however limited, of the structure of the nominal phrase and those adjuncts which conjoin with the verbal phrase within the clause. This will help to set the verbal phrase in a

wider context.

Independent clauses in Mandinka fall into two main classes, nominal and verbal; there is a third, marginal class, not easily accommodated as a sub-group of either of the other types, which is restricted to a small, closed class of items which occur as independent elements and includes the following:

<u>háa</u>	'yes'
<u>yóo</u>	'of course!'
<u>hàni</u>	'no'
<u>làyillayi</u>	(exclamation)
<u>sàa</u>	(exclamation)
<u>yaara</u>	(exclamation)
<u>áca</u>	'come on!'
<u>dúkare</u>	'please'
<u>abaraka</u>	'thank you'

Where a break-down of clause structure is given, these items, when appearing in isolation, will be considered as sole constituents of the marginal clause (MgCl) and, like nominal and verbal clauses, dependent or not, will be enclosed in slant lines as constituting a clause structure.

Slant lines will also enclose sentences, which may consist of a single clause or a number of independent and dependent clauses strung together. All dependent clauses cited will be found to be members of a sentence

consisting of at least two clauses, the other of which, for the most part,<sup>1</sup> is a potentially independent clause.

### 3.1.1. Nominal Clauses

Nominal clauses consist generally of one nominal phrase and may be subdivided into two types, vocative and interrogative. They are marked 'NCl(Voc.)' and 'NCl(Int.)' respectively.

#### Vocative

Instances of this type of nominal clause recorded were:

- ca. // íte! // 'you!' NCl(Voc.).
- cb. // Báa Fóde! // 'Baa Fode!' NCl(Voc.).
- cc. // Súluu! // 'Hyena!' NCl(Voc.).
- cd. // dǎnding! // 'child' NCl(Voc.).

There is a tendency for such a vocative nominal clause to precede, rather than follow, any verbal clause to which it is most closely attached:

- ce. // íte! / / nàa jàng la //
- 2s                      come      this      around
- (intens)                      place
- 'come over here, you!'

Structure: NCl(Voc.) with verbal clause.

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<sup>1</sup> The exception to this is provided by disjunctive sentences, which consist of two dependent clauses introduced by fó 'either' and wárantó 'or'.

### Interrogative

This type covers such independent nominal clauses as:

cf. // jùmaa? // 'who?' NCl(Int.).

cg. // mùng tuma? // 'when?' NCl(Int.).

what time

This independent class consists generally of an interrogative nominal as head or modifier (section 4.1.) and is usual when the speaker has not heard clearly what has been said previously and is asking for some confirmation.

### 3.1.2. The Verbal Clause

The verbal clause consists of an obligatory verbal phrase co-occurring with a number of optional nominal phrases and adjuncts. The structure of the nominal phrase is dealt with in section 4.1. and the structure of certain adjuncts is covered briefly in section 3.3. so in the analysis of verbal clauses undertaken here the respective symbols will be left unexpanded. The verbal phrase will be treated in more detail in terms of its constituents in sections 4.2. to 4.2.5.

It is convenient to set up three types of verbal phrase to which it will be seen that the overwhelming majority of verbal clauses are referable when these basic types feature in clauses with nominal phrase

and adjunct expansions. These types are established to account for clauses in accordance with the different possible expansions of the verbal phrase as indicated below. They correspond to the 'favourite' or basic types sometimes set up for a language and it will appear that in view of the internal stability exhibited by these clause types, a product of the rigidly fixed word-order found in the language, they account not merely for independent, but also dependent, clauses and serve as nuclei for possible expansion by peripheral, 'satellite' adjunct phrases which cluster at either end of the basic types of clause. (Details of adjuncts are found in section 3.3.)

The verbal phrase consists of an obligatory verb as the head of the phrase, either without any further expansion, as Types 2 and 3a, or with further expansion, as Types 1a, 1b and 3ai. The expansion of the verbal phrase in Type 1 is by means of one of the verbal operators and in Type 3ai, which is a sub-set of Type 3a, by means of the stative participle, which is combined with either of the full verbs be and te. If the nominal phrases which feature in these basic clause types are introduced and the verbal phrase expanded as described, the types with their associated sub-types can be delimited as follows:



'y' set). This distinguishes those verbs which carry only semantic information relating to the character of the process, activity or quality represented by the verb (verbs of the 'x' set) from those which carry both the semantic information of the sort carried by the 'x' set verbs and also the kind of grammatical information which relates to Polarity and Mood and which, in the case of the 'x' set verbs, is not carried by them but by the operators (verbs of the 'y' set).

#### i. Type 1

This type consists of a nominal phrase functioning as subject, an operator, an optional nominal phrase in object position and a verb. Of the eleven operators, ten are of type (a) and are pre-posed to the verb or any object nominal phrase present and one is type (b) and follows the verb; in this case, where this single operator, ta, appears there is no object nominal phrase present. The function of the operators as exponents of various grammatical category-terms which will be established for the verbal phrase will be outlined in section 4.2.1. and a fuller treatment given in the chapters which follow. As exemplifications of the Types 1a and 1b clauses the following may be cited:

ch. // à ye siloo m̀uta // VbCl Type 1a with  
       3s (Op) road+det. take       object NP.

'he took the road'

ci. // í si taa // VbCl Type 1a.

2s (Op) go

'you should go'

cj. // ñg ðung ta // VbCl Type 1b.

1s enter (Op)

'I entered'

(Where citations from the corpus appear after section 4.2.1. the operators will be given their full values of exponency.)

## ii. Type 2

This type is exemplified as a structure by:

ck. // taa! // VbCl Type 2 (without subject or object NP).

'go!'

cl. // áli naa! // VbCl Type 2 with subject NP.

2pl come

'come!' (addressed to more than one person).

cm. // à naati! // VbCl Type 2 with object NP.

3s bring

'bring it!'

cn. // ál'aa fó! // VbCl Type 2 with subject and object NP's.

2pl+3s say

'say it!' (addressed to more than one person).

These are the basic, operator-free injunctives and are restricted to those clauses which contain no overt subject nominal phrase (2nd. person singular, operator-



free injunctives) and to those which contain only the second person plural pronominal, áli or áltolu (the intensified form (section 4.1.)), with verb and optional nominal phrase functioning as object (2nd. person plural, operator-free injunctives). (The injunctive operators are dealt with in section 4.2.1. and in fuller detail in Chapter Seven.)

Type 2 differs from Type 3 in containing only verbs of set 'x' in the verb position, whereas Type 3 contains only verbs of set 'y'.

### iii. Type 3

Type 3a is instanced as a structure by:

co. // nte te // VbCl Type 3a.

1s not be  
(intens)

'it's not me!'

cp. // í kée lée? // VbCl Type 3a.

2s husband be

'where is your husband?' or 'how is your husband?'

cq. // nte bàng // VbCl Type 3a.

1s refuse  
(intens)

'I refuse!'

The nominal phrase here is obligatory and the verb is one of a limited, closed class whose members are discussed in section 4.2.4. Also discussed in that section are the

possibilities of expansion of this clause type by those postpositional adjuncts which are characteristically associated with some of the verbs from this class, especially mu '(equative)be', máa 'grant', be '(locational)be' and te '(equative and locational)not be'. It will be seen in section 4.2.4.7. that the colligational properties possessed by the verbs be and te in being frequently combined with other verbal forms within the clause are to be seen best in their close connection with the characteristics they show as full verbs in combining with other postpositional adjuncts. As such, the continuative construction in which they feature is to be regarded as an extension of the Type 3a clause, where such a continuative complex contains a second verb or a verbal noun.

Type 3ai is shown as a structure by:

cr. // `a be siiring // VbCl Type 3ai.

3s be seated

'he is seated'

cs. // `a be `ataaring // VbCl Type 3ai.

3s be tired

'he is tired'

ct. // `a te kéering // VbCl Type 3ai.

3s not be existing

'it does not exist'

This type consists of an obligatory nominal phrase in subject position, one of the verbs be or te, and the stative participle. The derivation of the stative participle is covered in section 4.2.3. and the function of this construction in relating to continuing states is discussed in section 5.3.

The three types of clause-structure are set up and labels suggested for them as a convenient way of concisely identifying the constituent structure of the citations from the corpus which will appear in the subsequent sections and chapters. In the construction of a full grammar of Mandinka different ways of deriving the three types could be pursued, as has been done for Bambara, closely related in its grammatical structure to Mandinka, by Bird, in a transformational analysis (Bird, 1966:51-69).

### 3.2. Order in the Verbal Clause

It has already been remarked, in section 1.3., that Mandinka is a fairly isolating language with some agglutinative features. Its agglutinative character will be taken up in the section on the composition of the nominal phrase (4.1.) and the verb (4.2.2.2.); its isolating character and its lack of morphological complexity in respect of grammatical, as against derivational, inflexion will be treated here.

In Mandinka there are no overt inflexional features

demarcating one nominal phrase from another in terms of function within the clause as subject or object nominal phrases. Concordial relationships covering the agreement of the verb with the nominal phrase in subject position, whether singular or plural, are also absent, the verb being neutral in this respect. In consequence, although the postposition indicates quite clearly the relationship of the nominal phrase to which it is attached with other nominal phrases in the clause, relationships connected with subject and object are signalled by syntactic organisation alone. It is thus invariably the case that the nominal phrases marked '1' in the clause types set up in the previous section function as subject and those marked '2' function, where they appear, as object nominal phrases. Permutation of elements within this basic set of clause structures does not occur, even where one of the nominal phrases is extrapolated from the basic type of configuration to serve as a stressed unit and is pre-posed to the clause, in initial position in such a clause:

cu. // nyìng mùsoo, 'a nyiinyaa ta //

this woman+det. 3s be beautiful (Op)

'this woman, she is beautiful'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with emphasised subject NP.

cv. // nyíng kódoó, à ka à díi mùsoo la //  
 this money+det. 3s (Op) 3s give woman+ to  
 det.

'as for this money, he usually gives it to  
 the woman'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with extrapolated object NP in  
 emphatic position and adjunct (mùsoo la).

Where such emphasis occurs the nominal phrase precedes  
 the basic, nuclear clause structure and is then 'picked  
 up' again by a deictic or a pronominal, obligatorily.

The significance of the obligatory re-appearance of the  
 nominal phrase in anaphoric pronominal or deictic form  
 will be explained in the section on the classification  
 of the verbs, section 4.2.2.3.

Similarly, there are no permutations when relative  
 and interrogative nominals appear as part of the basic  
 clause structure; they are found in the stated positions  
 as they act as subject or object:

cw. // íte ka mùng le fó? //  
 2s (Op) what intens. say  
 (intens)

'what is it that you keep on saying?'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

cx. // mùng le y'aa tìnna? // VbCl Type 1a  
 what intens. (Op)+3s cause with object NP.

'what was it that caused it?'

cy. // méng tàa ta jée / / í  
 which go (Op) that 2s  
 one place  
 y'aa jé // VbCl Type 1b with adjunct of  
 (Op)+3s see place (jée) and VbCl Type 1a  
 with object NP.

'you saw the one who went there'

cz. // níng í ye méng jé / / í  
 if 2s (Op) which see 2s  
 one  
 s'aa kili // VbCl Type 1a with clause-  
 (Op)+3s call introducer (níng) and object  
 NP and VbCl Type 1a with  
 object NP.

'if you see anyone, you should call him'

As seen in (cy) and (cz), relative pronominals serving as head of the nominal phrase are also picked up in the subsequent clauses, again obligatorily, so that deletion of pronominals or deictics which are connected anaphorically with these relatives does not occur in following clauses. There is also no deletion possible when the relative serves as modifier to the head of the nominal phrase, whether this nominal phrase is functioning as subject or object:

caa. // à ye sàajio méng sàmba / / à  
 3s (Op) sheep+ which bring 3s  
 det. one  
 fàa ta // VbCl Type 1a with object NP and  
 die (Op) VbCl Type 1b.

'the sheep he brought has died'

cab. // mòo méng ye ng la sìirango  
 person which (Op) 1s at chair+det.  
 one  
 dádaa / / à m'aa dádaa kúnke //  
 build 3s (Op)+3s build properly  
 'the person who built my chair didn't build  
 it properly'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and VbCl Type 1a  
 with object NP and adjunct (kúnke).

In a series of clauses, pronominals or deictics appearing  
 in the second and subsequent clauses and relating to a  
 nominal phrase, subject or object, in the first clause,  
 whether independent or dependent, obligatorily re-appear:

cac. // Sàng ye bátoodaa tàa / / à  
 Hare (Op) gourd+det.+ cause go 3s  
 lid  
 y'aa súuki / / à ye dènkiloo láa  
 (Op)+3s cover 3s (Op) song+det. lay  
 kóteke / / à kúma ta / ....  
 again 3s say (Op)  
 'Hare took the gourd-lid, he covered it over,  
 he sang the song again, he said...'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP (three times, with  
 adjunct (kóteke) in third clause) and VbCl  
 Type 1b.



### 3.3. Expansions of the Clause Types

Expansions of the clause types established above may be of two kinds, internal and external.

#### i. Internal Expansion

Internal expansion takes place as the result of the interposition of an item not part of a constituent of the clause types established into the clause. Some items which appear are, in fact, best regarded as extensions of the nominal phrase, such as fánang 'also', and will be treated as such in section 4.1. Another, nene 'once', is also best treated as a modifier of a limited number of verbal operators and the verb be '(locational)be' and is covered in section 4.2.5. This leaves a number of particles which appear in an internal position within the basic clause types immediately after the nominal phrase functioning as subject. Such particles serve as links within the text, establishing a unity of theme there. Such is the function of dùng, which takes up, across sentence boundaries, a theme which has been interrupted and resumes it, and dé, which acts as a contrastive particle, extending or resuming a theme, but in another direction:

cad.	//	mòolu	dùng	ye	nying	fó	//	VbCl Type 1a
		person+	then	(Op)	this	say		with object NP
		pl.suff.						and <u>dùng</u> .

'the people, then, said this'



cae. // nyíng móoroo dé, wò fánang  
 this marabout+ but that also  
 det.

mu bàtulaabaa le ti //

(equative) worshipper intens. as  
 be great

'but this marabout, he is also a great worshipper'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with emphasised subject NP and  
 particle (dé) and postpositional adjunct  
 (bàtulaabaa le ti).

(The significance of ti is explained in section 4.2.4.1.)

## ii. External Expansion

Two types of external expansion may be delimited:  
 pre-clausal and post-clausal.

As a pre-clausal element and corresponding in its  
 function to dùng and dé in resuming a theme across  
 sentence boundaries is bùtung 'now then':

caf. // bùtung mòolu y'aa m̀uta // VbCl Type 1a  
 now then person+ (Op)+3s catch with object  
 pl.suff. bùtung.

'now then, the people caught him'

cag. // bùtung ì ye lúngo f́o // VbCl Type 1a  
 now then 3pl (Op) day+det. say with object  
 NP and bùtung.

'now then, they settled on the day'

As a set of pre-clausal items the most important  
 are the clause introducers which have the effect of  
 subordinating the clause to which they are attached, but  
 without affecting the order of elements in the clause.

Such are:

biring 'since,when'<sup>2</sup>

báyiri '(causal)since'

kàbiring 'since,when'<sup>2</sup>

fó 'in order to'

níng 'if,when'<sup>3</sup>

fó 'until'

káatu 'because'

jànníng 'before'

báo '(causal)since'

The clauses to which these introducers are attached have the status of dependent clauses.

The main type of post-clausal expansion is that by means of adjunct phrases which have a variety of functions, but for the most part correspond to adverbial function. It is these adverbial functions which will be mentioned here since they will be found to relate in status to the clauses with the pre-posed introducers listed above. Other functions associated with the use of the postpositions, which are frequently found in adjunct phrases, such as 'benefactive' (introduced by the postposition ye 'for'), 'indirect object' (introduced by the postposition la 'at,towards') and 'comitative' (by ti 'with,as') could be set up in a fuller description but will be left aside here, except where it is necessary to be more detailed on the range of occurrence shown by a postposition where

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<sup>2</sup> 'when' relating to pre-utterance events (section 6.1.2.).

<sup>3</sup> 'when' relating to post-utterance events (ibid.).

this is closely connected with certain verbs (the use of la, for example, with the verbs be and te and the use of ti with the equative verb mu and its negative counterpart, te, treated in sections 4.2.4.7. and 4.2.4.1. respectively).

So far as function is concerned, it is possible to establish a number of adjunct phrase types. Here, however, those will be considered which serve to express place, time, manner, purpose and cause and citations given of each in turn:

cah. // à fánang sìi ta jée le //

3s also sit (Op) that intens.  
place

'it was there that he also sat'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjunct of place.

(jée is a nominal which does not combine with a postposition in 'static' locational extensions of this kind (cf. example (ce)).)

cai. // à tàa ta wúloo kóno // VbCl Type 1b  
3s go (Op) bush+ inside with adjunct  
det. of place.

'he went into the bush'

caj. // wò lúngo síi ta tuma méng la /  
that day+ suit (Op) time which at  
det.  
/ moolu bèng ta //  
person+ meet (Op)  
pl.suff.

'the very time that day was suitable, the  
people met'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjunct of time and  
VbCl Type 1b.

cak. // i y'aa bùutee wò le nyáa ma //  
3pl (Op)+3s beat that intens. way by  
'that was the way they beat him'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with adjunct of manner.

cal. // i si ng búng kídoò la //  
2s (Op) 1s shoot gun+ with  
det.

'you could shoot me with the gun'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjunct  
of manner.

cam. // mùsoo tàa ta kóobaa kóno  
woman+ go (Op) kitchen inside  
det.  
tábiroo la // VbCl Type 1b with adjuncts  
of place and purpose.  
cooking+ for  
det.

'the woman went into the kitchen to cook'

can. // Sùnjata la mánsayaa súng ta  
Sunjata at kingship have (Op)  
effect  
mùsoo le la // VbCl Type 1b with adjunct  
of reason.  
woman+ intens. at  
det.

'it was because of the woman that Sunjata's  
kingship was effective'

Although a full expansion of all types of adjunct phrase with different functions is not available in the corpus, the general order is that of adjunct phrases of place following on at the end of the nuclear clause with phrases of manner and time following in that order.

Adjuncts of time, however, may also appear before the nuclear clause, if emphasis is required. A pre-posed adjunct of time is more emphatic than a post-clause type:

cao. // à ka à ké sùutoo le //

3s (Op) 3s cause night+ intens.  
come about det.

'he usually does it at night'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjunct of time.

(la 'at' is optionally attached to sùutoo; it is not present in (cao) or in the following example.)

cap. // sùutoo le dannoo ka tàa

night+ intens. hunter+ (Op) go  
det. det.

déemoo la // VbCl Type 1a with adjuncts  
of time and purpose.  
hunting+ for  
det.

'it's at night that the hunter goes hunting'

After all possible expansions containing nominal phrases, with or without an attached postposition, appear the limited number of adverbs, mainly formed by the suffixation of the derivational item -ke, as in báake

'greatly' (cf. báa 'great') and kóteke or kótenke 'again' (cf. kóteng 'other'), but also including the phonaesthetic adverbs, or ideophones, and the simple adverb tèng 'in this way, thus' and its interrogative counterpart, dii 'how?'. These will be treated as they arise in the citations.

## Chapter Four

### Constituents of the Nominal and Verbal Phrases

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## Chapter Four

### Constituents of the Nominal and Verbal Phrases

#### 4.0. Introductory

This chapter is concerned with the description and classification of the constituents of the verbal phrase and contains an outline of the general structure of the nominal phrase.

Items which appear as constituents of the clause types established in section 3.1.2. are classified in accordance with their distributional properties rather than by the presence of any uniquely identifying features of morphology, so that nominals are classified as such by their possibility of occurrence as the head of the nominal phrase and verbs by their possibility of appearing as the head of the verbal phrase. Operators are then classified as modifiers of the head of the verbal phrase.

The fact that there are no morphological features which unambiguously mark an item as a nominal or a verb causes some difficulty in the recognition of a verb or nominal in isolation, especially where they are, in form, identical. Within the clause, however, this ambiguity is removed and the grammatical neutrality they show in isolation resolved since their position within the clause clearly indicates that they are to be assigned to one

grammatical class rather than another:

da. // siinoo y'aa tàa // VbCl Type 1a  
 sleep (Op)+3s take  
 with object NP.

'sleep took him'

db. // a siinoo ta // VbCl Type 1b.  
 3s sleep (Op)

'he fell asleep'

In (da) siinoo, as head of the nominal phrase, is to be assigned to the class of nominals; in (db), as head of the verbal phrase with ta as modifier, it is to be assigned to the class of verbs.

#### 4.1. Outline of the Nominal Phrase

Since the structure of the nominal phrase has been dealt with in detail elsewhere (Rowlands, 1959:37-73) and a full description of the tonal features of the nominals and their modifiers given there and in other sections (Rowlands, 1959:21-29), only a sketch of the structure of the nominal phrase will be given here to avoid unnecessary duplication. This sketch, however, should help to clarify the structure of those nominal phrases which are found in the citations from the corpus in the present study.

The nominal phrase consists of an obligatory head together with optional modifiers, the whole being endocentric in character. It may be expanded by certain

particles, such as the intensifier le, or by fánang 'also' and dòrong 'only', which may also serve as modifiers of the verb.

In head position within the nominal phrase may be found two types of nominal, labelled here 'A' and 'B'. Under the type 'A' nominals are subsumed those which serve merely as head and under the type 'B' nominals those which may serve as head or modifier to the head. In addition to these there are the modifiers themselves, which, like the type 'B' nominals, form a closed set in the language.

Within the nominal phrase the type 'A' nominals may appear as simple forms, with or without modification, as reduplicated forms, or as part of a compound nominal group, with or without modification:

<u>Simple:</u>	<u>kèe</u> 'man'	<u>jíi</u> 'water'
	<u>mùsu</u> 'woman'	<u>sìta</u> 'baobab'
	<u>díng</u> 'child, young'	<u>jàta</u> 'lion'
	<u>kódi</u> 'money'	<u>fàni</u> 'dawn'

Also to be considered as members of this group are the pronominals:

ng 'I', í 'you (singular)', à 'he, she, it', ng 'we',  
áli 'you (plural)', ì 'they'.

As they admit of a two-way intensificatory process as a form of compounding, the intensified forms will be

listed as compound forms and treated below, this section.

The reflexive pronominals, ng (first person) and i (non-first person), are only found in object position and with a limited number of verbs (section 4.2.2.3.).

Reduplicated: kée-o-kee 'each, every man', musu-o-musu 'each, every woman', díng-o-díng 'each, every child'.

Except that it acts as a link between the simple forms of the nominal, it has not been precisely determined what is the status of the 'o' element connecting the reduplicated forms. It seems to be unique and confined to this process of derivation; it is not present in reduplicated verbs, for instance (section 4.2.2.2.). (The orthographic practice adopted by Rowlands of enclosing the 'o' in dashes has been retained here.)

Compound Groups: sítading 'baobab fruit' (cf. síta 'baobab', díng 'young'), dònkili 'song' (cf. dòng 'dance', kíli 'call'), kèledulaa 'battlefield' (cf. kèle 'battle', dulaa 'place').

The language is extremely productive in this kind of compounding, effected by a juxtaposition of simple nominal forms in an agglutinative process. There seems to be no theoretical upper limit to the number of simple nominals which can be linked in this way, though the two longest compounds recorded in the corpus were these:

bálajaatatilimbaliyaa 'physical cruelty' (cf. bála 'body', jáata 'exposed', tíling 'straight', bàli 'preventing', yáa 'presence'),

kúluntiilaaboyidulaa 'airport' (cf. kúlung 'vessel', tíi 'flying', -laa (agentive suffix), bòyi 'descent', dùlaa 'place').

Also to be treated as compounds, though not composed entirely of nominals, are the intensified forms of the pronominals:

<u>ńte</u> 'I'	<u>ńtolu</u> 'we'
<u>íte</u> 'you (singular)'	<u>áltolu</u> 'you (plural)'
<u>ate</u> 'he, she, it'	<u>ítolu</u> 'they'

These, but not the simple pronominals, may be suffixed by the intensifier le to derive a more emphatic form, ńtele 'I!', ítele 'you!' etc.

Among the type 'B' nominals, which may serve either as head or modifier within the nominal phrase, are:

nying 'this', wo 'that', mung 'what, which?'

As modifiers the above three items appear before the head of the nominal phrase. The following appear after the head when serving as modifiers:

kàari 'a certain (one)', méng '(relative) which, what, who', dántang 'few', jàmaa 'many', jùmaa 'who, which?', jòlu 'how much, how many?', dóo '(an) other' (of un-named number)

and the numerals:

<u>kiling</u> 'one'	<u>wóoro</u> 'six'	<u>múwang</u> 'twenty'
<u>fùla</u> 'two'	<u>wórowula</u> 'seven'	<u>kème</u> 'hundred'
<u>sàba</u> 'three'	<u>séyi</u> 'eight'	<u>wúli</u> 'thousand'
<u>naani</u> 'four'	<u>kónonto</u> 'nine'	
<u>lúulu</u> 'five'	<u>táng</u> 'ten'	

In addition to the above nominals there is a post-posed nying, which particularises the preceding nominal. It is found even with a pre-posed nying or wò, as in:

nying mūsco nying 'this particular woman'

wò mūsco nying 'that particular woman'

As modifiers to the head of the nominal phrase may be mentioned:

Determiner, -o: this is suffixed to the simple nominal or to the final nominal in a compound nominal group.

Full details are given by Rowlands (1959:37-73) on the distribution of the determiner and morphophonemic information relevant to the effect of the suffixation of -o to the simple nominal is also found there (Rowlands: 1959, section 55) but may be repeated here for convenience:

1. If the simple nominal form has the velar nasal as its final consonant, the determiner is added without there being any alternation of the nominal form itself:

díng 'child' forms díngo, sáng 'hare' forms sángo, that is, in phonetic terms, the following process is seen:

[saŋ] + [ɔ] → [saŋɔ] and

[diŋ] + [ɔ] → [diŋɔ]

where the arrow symbol represents 'is realised as'.

2. If the simple nominal ends in a short vowel, the determiner form ends in -oo as the result of fusion:

tìya 'groundnut' forms tìyoo,

bèrè 'stone' forms bèroo,

kódi 'money' forms kódo

kóno 'stomach' forms kónoo and

kúŋku 'farm' forms kúŋkoo, as shown in the formulae:

[tija] + [ɔ] → [tijɔɔ]

[bɛrɛ] + [ɔ] → [bɛrɔɔ]

[kɔdi] + [ɔ] → [kɔdɔɔ]

[kɔno] + [ɔ] → [kɔnoɔ]

[kɯŋku] + [ɔ] → [kɯŋkɔɔ]

No nominal forms were recorded consisting simply of an initial consonant followed by a short vowel and it seems that if a verbal nominal is formed from a verb with a simple CV syllabic structure, as ké 'come about' and je 'see', there is a compensatory lengthening of the vowel to form the simple verbal nominal, which then takes the -o suffix in the normal way, according to the processes applicable to the suffixation of the nominal. The verbal nominal is discussed in section 4.1.1.

3. When the simple nominal form ends in -aa or -oo there is no distinguishable difference between it and the

postulated determiner form; they are homophonous:

saa 'snake', nyaa 'eye', daa 'area', koo 'back',  
koo 'salt'.

If saa 'snake' is placed in a framework where both the simple nominal and the determiner form may occur, there is a corresponding ambiguity:

dc. // saa y'aa kíng // VbCl Type 1a  
 snake (Op)+3s bite with object NP.

'a snake bit him' or 'the snake bit him'

4. If the simple nominal ends in any other long vowel<sup>1</sup>, the suffix has the effect of shortening this long vowel:  
níi 'soul' forms níó, kée 'man' forms kèo, kúu 'affair' forms kúó, as shown in the formulae:

[nií] + [ɔ] → [ni<sup>y</sup>ɔ]

[kee] + [ɔ] → [ke<sup>y</sup>ɔ]

[kuu] + [ɔ] → [ku<sup>w</sup>ɔ]

where the symbols 'y' and 'w' indicate palatal and velar glides respectively.

The above process of suffixation allows the setting up of three broad classes of nominal type 'A', based on the possibility of suffixation of the determiner or otherwise. The first class would contain those nominals whose simple forms and determiner suffixed forms are different, those whose simple forms and suffixed forms

<sup>1</sup> The only possibilities are -ii, -ee and -uu.



are indistinguishable (those ending in -aa or -oo) would form a second class and the third would be made up of those nominals which do not admit of suffixation by the determiner. Subsumed under this third class would be:

<u>jée</u> 'that place'	<u>jáari</u> 'next year'
<u>jàng</u> 'this place'	<u>nyínang</u> <sup>2</sup> 'this year'
<u>bii</u> 'today'	<u>sérung</u> 'last year'
<u>kunung</u> 'yesterday'	<u>sàama</u> 'tomorrow'

and place names:

Bànyun 'Bathurst', Kúdang, Màndori, Báse, Bádibu and Báara.

Insofar as these serve as the head of any nominal phrase, they are to be considered as nominals and not adverbials.

Plural Suffix, -lu: this is suffixed to the already suffixed -o form (or simply to the nominals which have the final long vowels -aa or -oo):

mòo 'person' : mòolu 'people', díngo 'child' : díngolu 'children', mùsoo 'woman' : mùsoolu 'women'.

Other Modifiers: the final group of modifiers to the head of the nominal phrase to be mentioned are:

bée 'every, all', kotengo 'other(of two)', fángo 'self'

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<sup>2</sup> cf. French 'année', Mandinka nying 'this'. Otherwise, to mark yearly intervals sanjio 'rains' is used.

and fánang 'also', which, as it often inflects for number, as in mòolu fánaalu 'the people also', should be considered a nominal modifier.

Bound Suffixes: these are treated in some detail by Rowlands (1959:43-45). They include the following:

- ri, which derives verbal nominals from a small class of verbs, some of which are listed in section 4.1.1.
- laa, the agentive suffix, which derives 'agentive' nominals from a small number of verbs referring to observable activities, as sènelaa 'farmer' (cf. sène 'farm'), kàrannaa<sup>3</sup> 'teacher' (cf. kàrang 'read'), bòrilaa 'runner' (cf. bòri 'run').
- nka, which derives nominals from other nominals which indicate geographical locations, as Màndinka 'a Manding person' (cf. Mànding, a geographical location, and section 1.0.), tìlibonka 'an easterner' (cf. tìli 'sun', bó 'set out').
- rang, which derives nominals from a small set of verbs, as láarang 'bed' (cf. lää 'lie down'), tèerang 'axe' (cf. tèe 'break').

Two further items described by Rowlands as suffixes (Rowlands, 1959:44), '-yaa' and '-ring/-nding' are referable to the independent nominals yáa 'presence'

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<sup>3</sup> Assimilatory processes are covered in section 2.6.

and díng 'small offspring(of anything)'. Such compounds, then, as béteyaa 'goodness' and jáwiyaa 'badness' would be seen as composites of the independent units béte 'good', jáwu 'bad' (with fronting of the final vowel before the palatal of yaa in the compound) and yaa 'presence'. The item díng would retain its diminutive force in such compounds as súnkutunding 'small girl' (cf. súnkutu 'girl' and appearance of the 'sporadic nasal' (section 2.5.)) and kènding 'small man' (cf. kèe 'man' and appearance of the sporadic nasal).

Attributives: a small group of elements with attributive characteristics function as modifiers to the head of the nominal phrase:

báa 'big'

kénde 'healthy, sound'

béte 'good'

kòtoo 'old'

jàng 'tall'

kúta 'new'

jáwu 'bad'

méseng 'tiny'

kàndi 'hot'

nyimmaa 'fine, beautiful'

These only function as modifiers in attributive position.

In predicative position the corresponding verbs are to be found (section 4.2.2.3.).

Possession: there are two ways of indicating possession in the language, by simple juxtaposition of the possessor phrase to the nominal phrase referring to the possessed

and by the attachment of the postposition la 'at, with' to the phrase referring to the possessor. This reflects a two-fold classification of nominals in Mandinka into those which, in phrases of possession, are combined with a possessor phrase with la and those which are combined with such a phrase without la, a distinction between those items and qualities regarded as 'alienable' and those regarded as 'inalienable' respectively:

<u>Alienable</u>	<u>Inalienable</u>
<u>à la búngo</u> 'his house'	<u>à fáa</u> 'his father'
<u>à la kúnkoo</u> 'his farm'	<u>à báa</u> 'his mother'
<u>à la láarango</u> 'his bed'	<u>à dingo</u> 'his child'
<u>à la fàngo</u> 'his machet'	<u>à bitango</u> 'his in-law'
<u>à la súnkutoo</u> 'his girl-friend'	<u>à kónoo</u> 'his stomach'

The class of 'inalienables' tends to contain those nominals which refer to parts of the body and to close family relatives and the class of 'alienables' those nominals outside this semantic range. However, a firm categorisation based on a division into items and qualities which are in some way 'necessary' and those which are 'contingent' is not applicable in Mandinka since there are clear exceptions to such a division:

à táa 'his property' or 'his thing' (inalienable)  
à la jàtayaa 'its being a lion', 'its lion quality'  
 (alienable).

táa might well have as its referent an item such as a house or a farm, búng or kunku, which, if explicitly stated, would require the presence of la 'at, with' with the phrase indicating the possessor. jatayaa on the other hand is best regarded as the most important defining characteristic of a lion, yet la is obligatory as the postposition with any possessor phrase. Other 'overall' inherent qualities also require the presence of la with the possessor phrase:

díngo la dindiyyaa 'the fact that he is a child' or  
'his being a child'

mùsoo la mùsuyaa 'the woman's femininity' or 'the fact  
of her being a woman'

báa la báayaa 'the fact that she is a mother' or  
'her motherhood'

mùsukeebaa la mùsukeebayaa 'the fact that she is an  
old woman'

Furthermore, the distinction between 'alienable' and 'inalienable' is neutralized in certain contexts, especially when nying or wò serve as modifiers to the head of the nominal phrase indicating the possessed item or quality; in this case la is present with the possessor phrase whether the possessed is 'alienable' or not:

à la nying búngo 'this house of his'

à la nying díngo 'this child of his'

í la wò singo 'that leg of yours'

ng la wò fáa 'that father of ours'

à la wò kòtoo 'that elder brother of his'

à la wò kambaano 'that boy-friend of hers'

#### 4.1.1. The Verbal Nominal

The determiner form of the verbal nominal is formed regularly, by the suffixation of the determiner -o to the verb itself in accordance with the rules given above on the suffixation of -o to the simple form of the nominal. The simple form of the verbal nominal is often identical in form with the verb itself and is in such cases distinguished from the verb by syntactic criteria alone. There are some exceptions to the regular formation of the verbal nominal from the verb:

1. With mono-syllabic verbs containing a short vowel there is a compensatory lengthening of the vowel and the suffix -o is then attached regularly, as in:

jé 'see' : jée 'seeing' (simple form)

ké 'do' : kée 'doing' (simple form)

fó 'say' : fóo 'saying' (simple form)

The determiner suffixed forms of these would be jéo, kéo and fóo respectively.

2. With some verbs the suffix -ri is appended to form the simple form of the verbal nominal. The determiner is then suffixed regularly:

dáani 'beg' : dáaniri 'begging'  
débe 'plait' : déberi 'plaiting'  
dómo 'eat' : dómori 'eating'  
jiibee 'examine' : jiibeeri 'examining'  
kúu 'wash' : kuuri 'washing'  
nyininkaa 'ask' : nyininkaari 'asking'  
sùunya 'steal' : sùunyaari 'stealing'  
tábi 'cook' : tábiri 'cooking'  
túu 'pound' : túuri 'pounding'

The determiner forms of these would be dáaniroo, déberoo, dómoroo, jiibeeroo, kúuroo, nyininkaaroo, sùunyaaroo, tábiroo and túuroo respectively.

#### 4.2. Constituents of the Verbal Phrase

The constituents of the verbal phrase are considered here, the verbal operators in respect of their values of exponency and the verbs in respect of a number of features, including syllabic structure, possibilities of compounding and syntactic distribution.

##### 4.2.1. The Operators

The verbal operators form a closed set of items classified in section 3.1.2. as types 'a' or 'b' on the basis of their occurrence either before the verb and any object nominal phrase, type (a), or immediately after it, type (b). Of the operators identified in the

Exponential Values of the Verbal Operators

Category:	<u>Mood</u>		<u>Aspect</u>		<u>Polarity</u>		<u>Tense</u>	
Term:	Ind.	Pot.	Inj.	Cmpl.	Hab.	Pos.	Neg.	Past Non-Fut.
Op.								
⋮								
<u>ye<sub>1</sub>,ta</u>	0			0		0		0
<u>mang</u>	0			0			0	0
<u>ka</u>	0				0	0		0
<u>buka</u>	0				0		0	0
<u>ye<sub>2</sub></u>			0	0		0		
<u>kana</u>			0	0			0	
<u>kari</u>			0		0	0		
<u>-kari</u>					0			
<u>si</u>		0		0		0		

The symbol '0' indicates that the operator against which it is found is an exponent of the relevant term listed at the head of the table.

Abbreviations:

Op.	Operator	Cmpl.	Completive
Ind.	Indicative	Hab.	Habitative
Pot.	Potential	Pos.	Positive
Inj.	Injunctive	Neg.	Negative
	Non-Fut.		Non-Future.



table showing the exponential values only ta follows the verb and so is the only member of type (b). The other eight operators and the compound operators, kaakari and sikari, are thus assigned to type (a).

In order to isolate the function of the operators it is necessary to set up four grammatical categories: Mood, Aspect, Polarity and Tense. Beneath each of these categories are subsumed a number of terms, from two to three in number. Mood contains the terms 'Indicative', 'Potential' and 'Injunctive', Aspect the terms 'Compleitive' and 'Habitative', Polarity the terms 'Positive' and 'Negative' and Tense the terms 'Past' and 'Non-Future'. These terms are necessarily broad and the range that they cover will be discussed in subsequent sections and in the following chapters dealing with the use of the operators and the range of meaning they exhibit, shown in citations from the corpus. Once these categories have been set up and the terms subsumed beneath them determined it can be seen that the operators serve as simultaneous exponents of a number of terms, as shown in the table.

ye<sub>1</sub> and ta are contextual variants, their appearance being determined by the presence of a nominal phrase in object position in the case of ye<sub>1</sub> and the absence of such an object nominal phrase in the case of ta; the choice of ye<sub>1</sub> rather than ta in

any clause is then completely predictable and dependent on the presence of an object nominal phrase in the same clause. Their exponential values are identical.

ye<sub>1</sub> and ye<sub>2</sub> are homonyms, distinguished mainly by contextual factors, both linguistic and extra-linguistic, but also by their syntactic distribution, since ye<sub>2</sub> may appear with or without a following nominal phrase in object position.

All the operators are connected in that they serve as exponents of one of the terms from the categories of Mood, Aspect and Polarity but only ye<sub>1</sub>, ta, mang, ka and buka serve as exponents of one of the terms from the category of Tense. ye<sub>1</sub>, ta and mang are connected with 'Past' with all verbs but the statives, covered in section 6.1.3., and ka and buka are described as being exponents of the term 'Non-Future' since they relate to generalisations extending to present or past events but not to post-utterance events (see section 6.0.). Where ambiguity might arise over the assignment of a temporal reference in the case of a clause which contains one of the operators ka or buka, temporal adjuncts make explicit the time scheme which is applicable (see section 6.4.).

The item -kari, though not a full operator in its own right, acts as an aspect marker and is suffixed to si and kana to provide the 'Habitative' counterparts

of the 'Completive' si and kana; the resultant forms are sikari and kaakari (with subsequent loss of the intervocalic /n/ when kana combines with -kari). -kari is also suffixed to the verbs be and te to provide one of the constituents of the future 'Habitative' construction (see section 4.2.4.7.).

The table shows only characteristic usages, that is the 'unmarked' functions of the operators. Any uncharacteristic, or 'marked' functions will be treated in the chapters specifically covering the use of the operators as exemplified by citations from the corpus. It will be seen that in (potentially) free clauses most of the uncharacteristic usages are a product of the combination of an operator with one of the verbs nàa 'come' or tàa 'go'. Otherwise they are connected with specific functions within bound clauses (ka, for example, is found with the conjunction jànniŋ 'before' without there being present any feature of habitual behaviour (see section 5.2.1.1.)).

If allowance is made for the different position adopted by ta within the clause, the operators, including the compounds sikari and kaakari, may be inserted singly into the frame à.....tāa jée 'he/she/it....go there' to provide the following paradigm illustrating some of the usages of the operators:

<u>à tàa tàa jée</u>	'he/she/it went there'
<u>à mǎng tàa jée</u>	'he/she/it did not go there'
<u>à ka tàa jée</u>	'he/she/it goes there'
	or 'he/she/it keeps on going there'
	or 'he/she/it is in the habit of going there'
<u>à búka tàa jée</u>	'he/she/it does not go there'
	or 'he/she/it is not in the habit of going there'
<u>à ye tàa jée (=ye<sub>2</sub>)</u>	'let him/her/it go there'
	or 'he/she/it is to go there'
<u>à kána tàa jée</u>	'he/she/it is not to go there'
	or 'don't let him/her/it go there'
<u>à kari tàa jée</u>	'he/she/it is to be going there'
	or 'let him/her/it be going there'
<u>à káakari tàa jée</u>	'he/she/it is not to be going there'
	or 'don't let him/her/it be going there'
<u>à si tàa jée</u>	'he/she/it might go there'
	or 'he/she/it will go there'
	or 'he/she/it must go there'
<u>à sikari tàa jée</u>	'he/she/it might be going there'
	or 'he/she/it will be going there'
	or 'he/she/it must be going there'

With the presence of an object nominal phrase, for example díngo 'the child', the transitivity function of

the verb tàa can be seen and ye<sub>1</sub> can be inserted into the framework à....dìngo tàa jée:

à ye dìngo tàa jée (=ye<sub>1</sub>) 'he/she/it took the child there'

#### 4.2.1.1. Morphophonemics of the Operators

With the simple, non-intensified forms of the first person pronominals, ng and ng, either of the operators ye<sub>1</sub> or ye<sub>2</sub> assimilate to form nga and nga respectively, the difference in tone distinguishing the first person singular from the first person plural form (see section 2.3.). The second person singular and third person plural non-intensified forms of the pronominals, when functioning as subject nominal phrase in the clause, are also assimilated to ye<sub>1</sub> and ye<sub>2</sub> to form what is phonetically [je] . These are also distinguished by tone.

Intensified or non-intensified forms of those pronominals with an initial vowel, that is i 'you (singular)', à 'he/she/it', áli 'you (plural)' and i 'they' (non-intensified) and íte, àte, áltolu and itolu (corresponding intensified forms), are assimilated to a preceding mang to form what, in each case, is phonetically [mee], [maa] , [maali] , [mee] , [meete] , [maate] , [maltolu] and [meetolu] .

Processes of assimilation comparable to

those observed with mang can also be seen when the pronominals with an initial vowel are preceded by any of the other operators. As the single or final vowel of any operator may only be /i/, /e/ and /a/ and the initial vowel of any pronominal /i/ and /a/, the possibilities of combination are restricted since a quantitative, but not qualitative, change takes place when two vowels of the same quality are assimilated:

[ka] + [a] → [kaa]

[si] + [i] → [sii]

Only three possible combinations are then left and these yield the following assimilations:

[i] + [a] → [aa]

[e] + [i] → [ee]

[a] + [i] → [ee]

These assimilations are signalled in the orthography by means of a raised comma (see section 2.4.).

ye<sub>1</sub>, ye<sub>2</sub>, ta, si, sikari and kari are tonal enclitics (section 2.3.), their relative pitch in the utterance being determined by the pitch of the item preceding them. mang, kana, buka and kaakari, that is those operators linked by being exponents of the term 'Negative', have up-stepped tone after a low tone pronominal but are tonal enclitics after the high tone unstressed pronominals, ng, i and ali. In other environments they behave as independent level-tone units

(Rowlands, 1959:90-91):

<u>à máng bó</u>	[- - -]	'he did not leave'
<u>ì máng bó</u>	[- - -]	'they did not leave'
<u>ńg máng bó</u>	[- - -]	'I did not leave'
<u>̀ng máng bó</u>	[- - -]	'we did not leave'
<u>í máng bó</u>	[- - -]	'you (sg.) did not leave'
<u>áli máng bó</u>	[- - - -]	'you (pl.) did not leave'
<u>à kána bó jée</u>	[- - - - -]	'he is not to leave there'
<u>ńg buka bó jée</u>	[- - - - -]	'I don't usually leave there'
<u>̀ng buka bó jée</u>	[- - - - -]	'we don't usually leave there'

#### 4.2.2. Verbs, Type (x)

Here the syllabic structure, morphology and distributional properties of the Type (x) verbs are examined and a classification of these verbs established on the basis of the minimum number of nominal phrases with which they are characteristically associated.

The Type (x) verbs are those which appear as units in the first two types of clause structure set up in section 3.1.2., combining with the operators and serving in the operator-free injunctive clauses. The grammatical categories which are set up to account for differences in function between the various operators apply to these operators alone and not to the verbs of the 'x' set with which the operators co-occur. This



demarcates the Type (x) verbs from the Type (y) verbs since a full description of the latter must take into account certain exponential values usually associated with the operators (see section 4.2.4.).

#### 4.2.2.1. Syllabic Structure

The syllabic structure of the verbs can be shown by the following formula:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} & & (C) \\ (C) & C & V & (V) \end{array}$$

which is a conflation describing the six syllabic patterns:

- i. C V
- ii. C C V
- iii. C V C
- iv. C V V
- v. C C V V
- vi. C C V C

Of these, (vi) does not occur within the corpus as an instance of the syllabic structure of any verb or part of a verb, though it may not be excluded from the language as a whole as a permissible syllabic pattern, (v) is only instanced by the single verb fwii 'plant'<sup>4</sup> and (ii) by the first syllable of the di-syllabic kwíyaa

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<sup>4</sup> The Baddibu informant had fii.



'be bad'. Of the three remaining structures, (i) and (iii) are the most common, while (iv) can in most cases be shown to be a contraction, through the loss of the intervocalic consonant, of an original CVCV structure on the basis of a comparison with Bambara, closely related to Mandinka (cf. quotations from Bambara given by Bird (1966)). Except in loan-words and the small class of phonaesthetic verbs, both of which groups are covered in the introductory section to Appendix A, the final consonant of the CVC group is always the velar nasal, which is, of course, in this position in the syllable subject to the usual assimilatory processes described in section 2.6.

Examples of each type in mono-syllabic verbs are:

- (i) bó '(cause) go out'<sup>5</sup>, fó 'say', jé 'see'.
- (iii) bàng 'finish', bèng 'assemble', fìng '(cause) be black', kíng 'bite', lóng 'know', sàng 'pass in trade', sòng 'agree', súng 'fast'.
- (iv) bíi 'draw', díi 'give', fàa '(cause) die', màa 'touch', sòo 'puncture', tàa '(cause) go' (cf. Bambara /taya/), tèe 'break' (cf. Bambara /tiye/), túu 'pound'.

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<sup>5</sup> Details of the method adopted for translating certain verbs with a 'causative' character are found in section 4.2.2.3.

In di-syllabic verbs any combination of the patterns

(i), (iii) and (iv) may be found:

bàtu 'wait for', fùta 'arrive', sáli 'pray', sène 'farm',  
síti 'tie' (all of CVCV pattern).

bàlang 'refuse', bóring 'throw down', díming 'hurt',  
fàling 'change', firing 'untie' (CVCVC).

bàtaa 'tire', fùtuu 'marry', jíyaa 'lodge', kàcaa 'talk',  
kòtoo 'age', tútuu 'plant' (CVCVV).

bàmpu 'carry on back', jàmfa 'be distant', múnta 'seem',  
núunku 'be fat' (CVCCV).

dándang 'accompany', kòntong 'greet', lindang 'graze'  
(CVCCVC).

bíndee 'hoe', kàmfaa 'become angry', kúmboo 'wail',  
lámfee 'pass around' (CVCCVV).

báadee 'bury', síinoo 'sleep', sùunyaa 'steal' (CVVCVV).

búusi 'snatch', cóodi 'aim', daani 'beg' (CVVCV).

dìinong 'be deep', kàanyang 'match' (CVVCVC).

There are a few verbs of more than two syllables which  
are not apparently compound verbs:

bàrama 'wound', dàraja 'become popular', díyamu 'speak',  
háyina 'look at', yèlema 'change'.

The exceptions to the syllabic patterning established  
here are referable to the set of loan words or the  
phonaesthetic verbs, such as àlamaani 'impose a fine on'  
(cf. French 'amende'), férfer 'whistle at', èlek 'elect'  
and féress 'graze lightly'.

#### 4.2.2.2. Morphology of the Verbs

Verbs of the 'x' set may be mono-morphemic or poly-morphemic, the poly-morphemic verbs being derived from free and bound elements by a number of processes considered here.

##### a. Mono-morphemic Verbs

All mono-syllabic verbs are mono-morphemic. Some examples of these are given in the previous section.

Di-syllabic verbs, with only a few exceptions<sup>6</sup>, are mono-morphemic, especially those of CVCV structure. Among the mono-morphemic verbs of more than two syllables which were recorded were:

bàrama 'wound', dàraja 'become popular', díyamu 'speak',  
hálakii 'punish', jàakali '(cause) become confused',  
jùruma 'pile up', kábari 'lift hands in prayer',  
lábara 'become thin', nímisa 'regret', wákili 'decide'.

Several of the mono-morphemic verbs of more than two syllables were among the loans from English, French, Portuguese and Arabic listed in Appendix A. This tends to confirm mono- and di-syllabic patterning as the most common for the verbs.

##### b. Poly-morphemic Verbs

A number of derivational processes are available

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<sup>6</sup> The exceptions, such as dáasoo 'pierce the mouth of' and jíibong 'water', are noted in the list of verbs, where morphemic structure is indicated.

for the formation of poly-morphemic compound verbs from other elements and from the simple verbs themselves. These may be split up into two classes as the resulting compound verb is formed from non-verbal elements or from at least one, and possibly two, primary verbal items. These are treated in turn.

#### Non-verbal Items Forming Compound Verbs

yaa 'presence' plays an important role in the formation of verbs from nominal modifiers and the nominals:

béteyaa 'be good' (cf. béte 'good', nominal modifier),

jàngayaa 'be tall' (cf. jàng 'tall', nominal modifier),

jáwiyaa 'be bad' (cf. jáwu 'bad', nominal modifier),

kéndeyaa 'be healthy' (cf. kénde 'sound, healthy',  
nominal modifier),

kútayaa 'be new' (cf. kúta 'new', nominal modifier),

méseeyaa 'be small' (cf. méseng 'small', nominal modifier).

In a number of such compounds with yaa the initial element seems not to appear as a free unit, whether nominal modifier or not, and so must be interpreted as a bound stem without independent distribution; in some cases this bound form appears as a formative in a compound with other suffixes:

díyaa 'be pleasant' (cf. díimaa 'pleasant', nominal  
modifier),

doyaa '(cause) be small' (cf. dóomaa 'young brother/sister'),

físiyaa 'be good', séneyaa 'be clean'.

yaa was also present in some compound verbs formed from nominals:

bitayyaa 'show respect to' (cf. bitang 'wife's relative'),

kambaaniyaa 'become a young man' (cf. kambaani 'youth'),

këebayaa 'become old' (cf. kée 'man' and báa 'great (in age)'),

mánsayaa 'become king' (cf. mánsa 'king'),

séefuyaa 'become chief' (cf. séefu 'chief').

In combination with a nominal and nominal modifier yaa was found in:

múlunjawiyaa 'be ugly' (cf. múlung 'appearance' or 'appear' and jáwu 'bad').

### Verbal Items Forming Compound Verbs

#### i. Nominal and Verb

There is a small set of compound verbs formed from a nominal and a verb, in that order, the nominal being in the simple form without the suffixation of the determiner (section 4.1.):

bálafaa '(cause) pity' (cf. bála 'body' and fáa 'fill'),

daasoo 'pierce the mouth of' (cf. dáa 'mouth' and sòo 'puncture'),

jambakeri 'be green (like a leaf)' (cf. jamba 'leaf' and kéri 'be green'),

jíibong 'water' (cf. jíi 'water' and bòng 'pour'),

jùsulaa '(cause) become happy' (cf. jùsu 'liver' and  
lāa '(cause) lie down'),  
kéetaa 'succeed by inheritance' (cf. kée 'inheritance'  
and tāa '(cause) go'),  
kéetalaa 'divide (in an inheritance)' (cf. kée  
'inheritance' and tālaa 'divide'),  
kùllii '(cause) head be shaved' (cf. kùng 'head' and  
līi 'peel off'),  
nīibo 'satisfy' (cf. nīi 'spirit' and bó '(cause) go out'),  
nīijii 'breathe' (cf. nīi 'spirit' and jīi 'unload').

#### ii. Causative Suffix -(n)di

The bound suffix -(n)di may be added to any verb of Class III <sup>7</sup> (the inherently intransitive verbs) to derive a causative verb; when suffixed to a stative verb (section 6.1.3.) it has the further effect of deriving a process verb from the original stative verb:

bámbang 'be strong' : bámbandi 'strengthen'  
dáli 'become used to' : dálinđi 'habituate'  
finti 'go out' : fintindi 'take out'  
jénke 'be crooked' : jénkendi 'twist, warp'  
kámfaa 'become angry' : kámfandi 'anger, enrage'  
kòtoo 'become old' : kòtonđi 'make old'  
kúma 'speak' : kúmandi 'cause to speak'

<sup>7</sup> The three classes of verb, I, II and III, are set up in section 4.2.2.3.

mèlung 'be sharp' : mèlundi 'sharpen'

nyína 'forget' : nyínandi 'cause to forget'

sii 'sit' : sìndi 'seat'

wùlee 'be red' : wùlendi 'redden'

wúli 'rise' : wúlindi 'raise'

(When appended to verbs with a long vowel in the final syllable, as kàmfaa, kòtoo, sii, and wùlee, the suffix has the effect of shortening this vowel; when it is added to verb with the final nasal consonant, as bàmbang and mèlung, lengthening of the nasal does not take place.)

The resulting causative verb thus formed is an inherently transitive verb and so has the distributional properties of a Class I verb.

The causative suffix is also found with some of the Class I verbs:

dòng 'dance' : dòndi 'cause to dance'

dòokuu 'work at' : dòokundi 'cause to work at'

fònyo 'rest' : fònyondi 'cause to rest'

kàrang 'read' : kàrandi 'teach'

With those reflexive verbs which also have a distribution as intransitives, the 'pseudo-transitive' verbs (section 4.2.2.3.), or those verbs which may be both reflexive and also combine with a non-reflexive object nominal phrase, the effect is the same:



bòri 'run' : bòrindi 'cause to run' (bòri is both reflexive and intransitive),  
dàhaa 'rest' : dàhandi 'relieve' (dàhaa is both reflexive and intransitive),  
mìng 'drink' : mìndi 'cause to drink' (mìng combines with reflexive and non-reflexive NP's in object position).

Finally, apart from the purely indeterminate status of some verbs to be covered in the section on the verb classification, there is one regular suffixation of -(n)di to a verb which has the feature of causation as part of its transitivity function, that is a Class II verb:

fàa '(cause) die' : fàndi 'pretend to die'

All the causative verbs formed by suffixation of -(n)di are transitive and there were no instances of these verbs appearing without a nominal phrase in object position. A proportion can be set up, then, in that the suffixed verbs and the verbs from which they are derived reflect, as a set, the possibilities of combination, with or without an object NP, shown by the Class II verbs:

fínti : fíntindi = tínyaa : tínyaa

(intr.) (tr.) (intr.) (tr.)

go out : take out = spoil : spoil



kàcaa : kàcandi = tíling : tíling

(intr.) (tr.) (intr.) (tr.)

talk : cause to talk = straighten : straighten

### iii. Reduplication

A few verbs allow reduplication of their basic form, to which the sporadically appearing nasal has been appended. The resulting reduplicated verb relates to a more intensified or repetitive form of the activity to which the simple verb refers:

bòri 'run' : bòrimboring 'run around'<sup>8</sup>

fára 'tear' : fáramfarang 'rip into pieces'

jùruma 'pile up' : jùrumanjurumang 'keep piling up'

kòntong 'greet' : kòntonkontong 'keep on greeting'

kúntu 'cut' : kúntunkuntung 'cut into pieces'

mála 'light' : málamala 'sparkle'

míning 'twist' : mínimmining 'wrap around'

múru 'return' : múrummurung 'encircle'

pódi 'jump' : pódimpoding 'jump about'

táama 'walk' : táamantaamang 'walk around, stroll'

Among those apparently reduplicated verbs for which there were no basic forms available were:

bámbang 'be strong', búruburu 'subside', jànjang 'disperse', pémpeng 'nail' and wásawasa 'descale (fish)'.

(Reduplicated verbs are listed in the table of verbs in

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<sup>8</sup> Often in confusion or terror.

Appendix A immediately after the simple verbs from which they are derived unless no such basic form is available, in which case they are listed in alphabetical order.)

#### iv. Verb and Verb

The verbs jáwu 'be bad' and kúng 'fit, agree' may be suffixed to other verbs to form compounds:

díyaajawu 'be awfully pleasant' (cf. díyaa 'be pleasant')

kúliyaajawu 'be awfully heavy' (cf. kúliyaa 'be heavy')

siyaajawu 'be awfully plentiful' (cf. siyaa 'be plenty')

dádaakung 'build up properly' (cf. dádaa 'build up')

jànjankung 'disperse properly' (cf. jànjang 'disperse')

lòokung 'stand properly' (cf. lòo 'stand').

#### Other Verbs

Some other verbs which should be mentioned as being related, formally and semantically, with other items in the language, whether mono-morphemic or poly-morphemic, are:

dàasaama 'breakfast (someone)' (cf. dàasaama 'breakfast')

fóloo 'begin' (cf. fóloo 'first')

fùlanjang 'repeat' (cf. fùlanjang 'second')

kàndi 'become hot' (cf. kàndi 'hot')

kíling 'be the same' (cf. kíling 'one')

nètemunku 'be yellow' (cf. nète 'locust bean' and munku 'powder')

siimang 'have supper' (cf. siimang 'supper').

#### 4.2.2.3. Classification of the Verbs

The verbs in Mandinka may be conveniently classified on the basis of the minimum number of nominal phrases with which they are characteristically associated. Such a classification is not made any the less reliable as a guide to the combinatorial properties of the verbs by the availability of the operator-free injunctives, which allow the non-appearance of the second-person singular pronominal, also optionally absent when kana is present in the clause as an operator in prohibitions; in such cases the minimum number of associated nominal phrases is consistently reduced by one while the general classification remains intact.

Such a classification on the basis of the association of the verb with a minimum number of nominal phrases is made the more reliable in the language since optional deletion of object nominal phrases is only allowed in the case of a restricted set of verbs, often loans, which will be treated below. Inherently transitive verbs invariably combine with a nominal phrase in object position, although it will later be shown that there are some verbs in the corpus which appear to be predominantly transitive and yet are encroaching on the distributional characteristics of the Class II verbs.

There are no ditransitive verbs in the corpus; verbs such as kàrandi 'teach' (from kàrang 'read' and the causative suffix, -(n)di), nyininkaa 'ask' and dii 'give' are transitive, the postposition la 'at,with' being attached to the nominal phrase indicating what is taught (with kàrandi), what is asked about (with nyininkaa) and the person to whom an object or person is given (with dii). As a result of this, the verbs may be classified as they are found either with a minimum of two nominal phrases, subject and object, (Class I), or one nominal phrase, subject, (Class III), or one or two nominal phrases, subject or subject and object, (Class II).

a. Class I Verbs

This class contains those verbs which are combined with at least two nominal phrases, the inherently transitive verbs. Such verbs are found with the nominal phrases in the positions shown in section 3.1.2. They are marked as Class I verbs in the list of verbs in Appendix A, where a categorisation is also assigned to other verbs.

b. Class II Verbs

In this class are contained those verbs which may combine with one or two nominal phrases, the difference

in the possibilities of association they exhibit being correlated with a difference in meaning, as one nominal phrase is present, rather than two. When the Class II verb combines with two nominal phrases there is present the feature of causation, though this is not overtly expressed, as it is in the process of suffixation by -(n)di, the causative suffix; when there is only one nominal phrase present, as subject, this feature is absent. Insofar as the morphological shape of the verb remains constant, whether there are present two nominal phrases or one, it would seem to be more convenient to treat the difference as a product of the syntactic organisation of the clause and account for it as a feature of the transitivity function of the verb, rather than set up two homonyms distinguished in their semantic make-up by the presence or absence of the causative factor. This approach would also serve to clarify the question of the uncharacteristic distribution shown by some verbs in Class I.

There are many verbs within Class II and it seems that their idiosyncratic properties have been overlooked mainly because in most cases there is no word-for-word translation in English or French which will retain this difference, even though in English there is a comparable group of verbs with a corresponding set of syntactic properties. But this group of verbs in English is not

so extensive as the group in Mandinka:

dd. // à ye jàtoo fàa // VbCl Type 1a  
with object NP.  
3s ind/cmpl lion+ cause die  
pos/past det.

'he killed the lion'

de. // jàtoo fàa ta // VbCl Type 1b.  
lion+ die ind/cmpl  
det. pos/past

'the lion died'

df. // à ye búngo lòo // VbCl Type 1a with  
object NP.  
3s ind/cmpl house+ cause  
pos/past det. stand

'he built the house'

dg. // Sáng lòo ta sìloo káng //  
Hare stand ind/cmpl road+ on  
pos/past det.

'Hare stood on the road'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjunct of place.

dh. // nyíng kúo si ng jàakali //  
this affair+ pot/ 1s cause become  
det. cmpl/pos confused

'this thing could confuse me'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

di. // ng si jàakali // VbCl Type 1a.  
1s pot/cmpl become  
pos confused

'I could become confused'



dj. // í kana wò ké // VbCl Type 1a with  
 object NP.  
 2s inj/cmpl that cause  
 neg come about  
 'you are not to do that!'

dk. // wò kána ké // VbCl Type 1a.  
 that inj/cmpl come  
 neg about  
 'don't let that happen!'

dl. // d'indingo ye pàlanteeroo yéle //  
 child+det. ind/cmpl window+det. open  
 pos/past  
 'the child opened the window'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

dm. // pàlanteeroo yéle ta // VbCl Type 1b.  
 window+det. open ind/cmpl  
 pos/past  
 'the window opened'

The full list of such verbs which appear in the data provided by the main informant will be found in Appendix A. There, and within the study itself, the convention will be adhered to of indicating the feature of causation present in the transitivity function of those Class II verbs for which no single lexical item is available in English by means of a bracketed 'cause', as in the following examples:

fàa '(cause) die', ké '(cause) come about', kòò  
 '(cause) go away' and síla '(cause) become afraid'.

It is to be noted that in those cases where a

Class II verb is not preceded by an object nominal phrase, as in (de), and where the subject nominal in such a clause may correspond to the object nominal in a related clause, where the subject of this clause has the role of 'agent' and the object that of 'goal', as in (dd), it is not possible to recover the original agent of causation; there is no postpositional construction which will allow the appearance of the original agent in the non-causative grouping of items. It should be further noted that the verbs of Class II may combine with any of the operators and are not restricted to a combination with a small sub-set of operators, as seems to be implied in some of the earlier studies (e.g. MacBrair (1837:24), Hamlyn (1935: 24-25) and Gamble (1949:13)).

c. Class III Verbs

The Class III verbs associate with a minimum of one nominal phrase and are the inherently intransitive verbs. These verbs can be further sub-divided into two sets, those whose function it is to relate to activities and processes and those which serve to indicate a state or a quality, the stative verbs. Since the stative verbs seem to have a connection with the 'attainment' verbs they are discussed with them in section 6.1.3.



The classification of the verbs established here is applicable to all but a small number of those found in the corpus. The exceptions, apart from the anomalous distribution of some Class I verbs to be considered in the following section, are limited to two sets of verbs, both of which contain verbs which may, like the Class II verbs, combine with one or two nominal phrases. But with these verbs the presence or absence of an object nominal phrase is not linked to the factor of causation, which is one of the identifying characteristics of the Class II verbs.

The first set contains what are here labelled the 'pseudo-transitive' verbs. These are bòri 'run', dàhaa 'rest', sàbari 'pause', sùjutu 'bow' and wákili 'decide'. They may combine with a nominal phrase, invariably a reflexive pronominal, in object position and so have the distributional properties of a Class I verb of the reflexive type or they may combine with only one nominal phrase, in subject position, and so have the distribution of Class III verbs:

à y'ee bòri 'he ran' or à bòri ta 'he ran'

à y'ee dàhaa 'he rested' or à dàhaa ta 'he rested'

à y'ee sàbari 'he paused' or à sàbari ta 'he paused'

à y'ee sùjutu 'he bowed' or à sùjutu ta 'he bowed'

à y'ee wákili 'he decided' or à wákili ta 'he decided'

There is no semantic difference between the reflexive

and non-reflexive uses of these verbs, which are, according to the main informant, synonymous in the sentence pairs quoted.

The pseudo-transitives are distinguished from those verbs like dèe 'silence', dòng 'dance', nyúng 'load up' and fònyo 'rest', which combine only with a minimum of two nominal phrases and are so regular Class I verbs of the reflexive type, marked as 'I (Ref)' in the list of verbs in Appendix A. To indicate the ambiguous status of the distribution of the pseudo-transitives they are marked as having the distribution of both Class III and Class I reflexives in the list of verbs.

The second group of verbs with irregular possibilities of combination contains the verbs jèle 'laugh (at)', jíki 'hope (for)', mára 'rule', múnya 'persevere (with)', sáli 'pray', sòosoo 'disagree (with)' and súng 'fast'. These verbs are unusual in allowing the optional presence of a nominal phrase in object position, as the Class II verbs, but in retaining any agent as grammatical subject when no object nominal phrase is present in the clause:

dn. // à y'aa jèle // VbCl Type 1a with  
object NP.

3s ind/cmpl laugh  
pos/past+3s at

'he laughed at him' or 'he mocked him'

do. // à jèle ta // VbCl Type 1b.

3s laugh ind/cmpl  
pos/past

'he laughed' not 'he was laughed at'.

dp. // à ye mòolu mára // VbCl Type 1a  
with object NP.  
3s ind/cmpl person+ rule  
pos/past pl.suff.

'he ruled the people'

dq. // à si mára // VbCl Type 1a.

3s pot/cmpl rule  
pos

'he could rule' not 'he could be ruled'

dr. // kèebaa ye sáliwaatoo sáli // VbCl Type  
1a with  
man great ind/cmpl prayer-time+ pray object NP.  
pos/past det.

'the elder prayed the prayer-time'

ds. // kèebaa sáli ta // VbCl Type 1b.

man great pray ind/cmpl  
pos/past

'the elder prayed' not 'the elder was prayed for'

dt. // à ye súnkaroo súng // VbCl Type 1a  
with object NP.

3s ind/cmpl fast-month fast  
pos/past +det.

'he fasted for Ramadan'

du. // à súng ta // VbCl Type 1b.

3s fast ind/cmpl  
pos/past

'he fasted' not 'it was fasted' (i.e. Ramadan).

It is perhaps of significance that of the twelve verbs which constitute the two groups of irregular verbs at least four, sàbari, sáli, sùjutu and súng, are loans from Arabic, among those listed in the introductory section

to Appendix A. The unusual properties of combination with other items in the clause which these verbs possess may then be attributable to syntactic properties which they have carried over from the source language.<sup>9</sup> This might also explain the ambiguity involved in the use of wúluu '(cause) become born' without an object nominal phrase, as in à wúluu ta, which may mean 'he/she was born' or, less predictably and much less frequently, 'she gave birth', since wúluu is also a loan from Arabic, as noted in Appendix A.

#### 4.2.2.4. Uncharacteristic Distribution of Some Verbs

Within the corpus there were some instances of indeterminacy shown by informants in the use of some verbs. There were also occasional instances of verbs of one class taking on the distributional properties of verbs of another class. These anomalies will be considered in turn.

As examples of indeterminacy in the use of some verbs may be mentioned the possibility of the suffixation of -(n)di, the causative suffix, to verbs which, as members of Class II, already have the feature of causation present in their transitivity function. The

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<sup>9</sup> The Arabic equivalents of sáli and súng may take 'cognate' extensions of this kind also. (Information from Mr. B. Ingham of S.O.A.S.)

resulting derived verb then becomes a stylistic variant for the simple verb in its role as a transitive. Among such verbs of Class II which allow this process of suffixation are bó '(cause) go out', bòyi '(cause) fall', fáa 'fill', láa '(cause) lie down' and lòo 'stand'. The following pairs of Mandinka sentences are then synonymous:

à y'aa bó and à y'aa bóndi 'he removed it'

à y'aa bòyi and à y'aa bòyindi 'he pulled it down'

à y'aa fáa and à y'aa fándi 'he filled it'

à y'aa láa and à y'aa lándi 'he laid it down'

à y'aa lòo and à y'aa lòndi 'he stood it up'

Since verbs of Class II do not usually permit the suffixation of -(n)di (with the exception of fàa '(cause) die', noted in section 4.2.2.2.), as causation is a feature of their transitivity function, and since verbs of Class III do allow such suffixation to derive causative verbs, it seems that the indeterminate status of these verbs, illustrated in the set of synonymous pairs, may be a product of two influences: either cross-dialectal pressures have brought about an addition of what appears to be a superfluous process of suffixation to the Class II verbs or a process of analogy is taking place, not entirely resolved, where what were formerly Class III verbs are being assimilated to Class II or vice-versa. The frequency-lists of selected verbs in Appendix B indicate that cross-dialectal influences are improbable

as an explanation for the indeterminacy, since all three of the informants whose narratives were examined to obtain the figures there used both simple and suffixed forms of l<sup>á</sup>a and l<sup>ò</sup>o and were from different parts of The Gambia. The assumption by the verbs of the properties of another class seems more likely, though it was not determined in which direction, from Class III to Class II or from Class II to Class III, this was taking place.

The acquisition of combinatorial properties appropriate to verbs of one class by verbs of another is also to be seen with a small number of Class I verbs, which seem to be gradually encroaching on the distributional possibilities of the Class II verbs. Over a period of time this could result in the replacement of the more restricted, basically causative/non-causative system by a more general active/passive one. The problem is indicated by various anomalies in the system of the distribution of the verbs in the narratives provided by two informants and is covered in Appendix B, where statistical tables are found and more details given. Here it can be illustrated by the following citations:

dv. // à ye nying le fó // VbCl Type 1a  
 3s ind/cmpl this intens. say with object NP.  
 pos/past  
 'this is what he said'



dw. // wò too buka fó báake //

that name ind/hab say very  
neg/non-fut

'that name is not much used'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with adjunct of manner.

dx. // dǐndingo ye bàmboo jé // VbCl Type  
child+det. ind/cmpl crocodile see 1a with  
pos/past +det. object NP.

'the child saw the crocodile'

dy. // máanyoo jé ta // VbCl Type 1b.

bride+det. see ind/cmpl  
pos/past

'the bride was seen'

dz. // í y'aa lóng // VbCl Type 1a  
2s ind/cmpl know with object NP.  
pos/past+3s

'you know it'

daa. // à lóng ta // VbCl Type 1b.

3s know ind/cmpl  
pos/past

'it was known' or 'it is known' (see section  
6.1.3.).

The verbs fó, je and lóng, which are to be assigned to Class I, are seen in the citations (dw), (dy) and (daa) to have encroached on the distribution of the Class II verbs without there being any corresponding assumption of the characteristic of causation associated with the transitivity function of the Class II verbs. Although such occurrences are only sporadic in the corpus and are

confined to only a few of the Class I verbs, as is indicated in the tables in Appendix B, it may well be that the pattern of the distribution of the Class II verbs is providing a growth-point for the formation of an active/passive voice dichotomy by the assumption of the Class II verb distribution by the Class I verbs.<sup>10</sup> It is not fully clear what is the point of origin of such a growth or what may have been the influences which have led up to it. Whether an influence has been exerted by languages with such an active/passive distinction which have been in use in the area for a long time, such as English, French, Portuguese and Arabic, is not absolutely certain, though the figures in Appendix B suggest that there could be lines of influence from this source. The effect of Arabic through the Koranic schools in the area should not be discounted, as the irregularity connected with the distribution of kàrang 'read' shows.

In combination with an object nominal phrase kàrang, a loan-word from Arabic, as noted in the introductory section to the list of verbs, corresponds to 'read' and is to be assigned to Class I; but it may also appear

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<sup>10</sup> The appearance of sàmba 'carry' and búng 'shoot' without an object nominal phrase, as in à sàmba ta and à búng ta for 'he was carried' and 'he was shot', was not acceptable for the main informant, who also felt that ng fáyi ta for 'we were thrown', containing another Class I verb, was 'unusual'.



without an object nominal phrase, in which case it corresponds to 'become educated', as in a kàrang ta 'he became educated'. This second use of kàrang is probably a later development and may have arisen as a translation of the English 'be well read' or 'be learned', to which it bears a resemblance. Although there is an obvious relationship which holds between the use of kàrang with and without an object nominal phrase, it seems preferable, in view of the difference of meaning, to set up two lexical items in this case.

The final verb with irregular properties of combination to be considered is tàra. This verb combines with an object nominal phrase to correspond to 'meet with' or 'come upon'; without an attendant object nominal phrase it corresponds to 'be met with' or 'be found', a clearly passive use, since the element of causation is not present in the transitivity function of this verb. In Appendix B the figures obtained for the frequency of this verb in parts of the corpus show that it has a wide distribution both with and without an object nominal phrase, though it probably had its origin as a regular Class I verb.

The question of whether a passive voice operates in the language or not, a source of dispute in the earlier approaches to the language, as mentioned in section 1.1., can now be resolved. Since not all verbs which are

regularly associated with an object nominal phrase also possess the distributional characteristics of combining with a minimum of one nominal phrase, except in the operator-free, second-person singular injunctives, and since in those cases where there is a possibility of a verb being associated with one or two nominal phrases, with the Class II verbs, any original 'agentive' nominal phrase cannot be recovered, it is incorrect to suggest that there is an active/passive voice distinction in the language. The properties of the inversion of nominal phrases, where what is the object nominal phrase in one clause may become the grammatical subject in a 'mirrored' clause with the optionality of the appearance of the original grammatical subject nominal phrase in some case or prepositional relationship within the clause, reflecting the traditional active/passive scheme, are not possessed by any verb in Mandinka and the optionality of an appearance with one or two nominal phrases is a feature predominantly of those verbs whose transitivity function includes the element of causation. There does, however, seem to be a so far unresolved, but possibly growing, phenomenon which may have been originally instigated by contact with other languages and is now sustained by the increasingly important position of English and French in the area, in the educational systems, which is permitting the encroachment of some verbs in Class I on the distribution

of the verbs of Class II and laying the foundations of an active/passive distinction in the language. Although it remains to be seen whether there will emerge in the language the full elaboration of a passive construction with the possibility of the recovery of the original 'agentive' nominal phrase, the trend seems to be in this direction and one clause in the narratives recorded by the main informant, fluent in English, indicates that the postposition búlu 'at hand' (cf. búlu 'hand') might provide the means whereby the original agent can be recovered:

dab. // bàmpurango jàni ta ng búlu //

child-carry burn ind/cmpl 1s at hand  
thing+det. pos/past

'the child-sling in my possession was burnt'

or 'the child-sling was burnt by me'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with postpositional adjunct.

Although either translation would suit the context from which this citation is drawn it is more likely that the second translation is closer to the Mandinka since 'the child-sling in my possession' would be translated into Mandinka as either ng la bàmpurango 'my child-sling' or bàmpurango méng be ng búlu 'the child-sling which is in my possession'. The use of búlu in (dab) thus suggests a slight change in meaning from 'at hand' to 'at the hands of', a meaning which would be consistent with the use of búlu to mark a (human) agentive nominal phrase.

#### 4.2.2.5. Tonal Features of the Verbs

A fuller account of the tonal characteristics of the verbs than the one found here is given by Rowlands (1959:107-109). The account given here is based on that given by Rowlands.

Mono-syllabic moving tone verbs and level tone verbs have the same pitch pattern in isolation, in operator-free injunctives:

bó 'go out!' has the pitch pattern [ \ ],

nàa 'come!' has the pitch pattern [ \ ],

sii 'sit!' has the pitch pattern [ \ ] .

In larger stretches, however, the tonal patterns become clear:

bó jée 'get away from there!' has the pattern [ - - ],

sii jée 'sit there!' has the pattern [ / - ] .

When a verb is preceded by a low level tone pronominal, such as ng 'we' or i 'they' and that verb is a moving tone verb, there is a fall in pitch on the pronominal and the other syllables are said on a low pitch:

ng bula 'leave us!' has the pattern [ - - ],

i kòntong 'greet them!' has the pattern [ \ - - ] .

Where a level tone verb follows a low level tone pronominal there is a rise to the first syllable of the verb from the low level of the pronominal:

n̄g máakoyi 'help us!' has the pattern [ \_ - - - ] .

When the verb is combined with the operator ta the following rules apply:

1. With level tone verbs the operator forms a tonal enclitic, taking its pitch from the pitch of the preceding syllable.
2. With moving tone verbs in combination with a low tone pronominal the rise in pitch is on ta if the verb is mono-syllabic:

à n̄aa ta 'he came' [ \_ - - ] .

If the verb is di-syllabic and the second syllable is short, the same overall pattern is observable:

à f̄uta ta 'he arrived' [ \_ - - - ] ,

à b̄oyi ta 'he fell' [ \_ - - - ] .

If the verb is di-syllabic and the second syllable is long, the rise in pitch is on the second syllable of the verb and ta becomes a tonal enclitic again:

à bàtaa ta 'he became tired' [ \_ - / - ] ,

à j̄òlong ta 'it dropped' [ \_ - / - ] .

As noted in section 4.2.2.2., mono-morphemic verbs of more than two syllables are not common. Rowlands notes the following pattern for ȳelema 'change':

à ȳelema ta 'he changed' [ \_ - - - - ] .

#### 4.2.3. The Stative Participle

The stative participle is formed by the suffixation of -ring, -ling or -ding to the verb, the initial consonant of the suffix being determined by the form of the verb:

1. If the preceding syllable is an open one and its initial consonant is any other than /r/, the form of the suffix is -ring, as láaring 'lying', lòoring 'standing', bàtaaring 'tired' and jàmfarìng 'being far away'.
2. If the preceding syllable is an open one and its initial consonant is /r/, the form of the suffix is -ling, as bòriling 'having run' and kòriling 'having failed'.
3. If the preceding syllable is of the structure CVC, in which case the second consonant is the nasal, unless the verb is phonaesthetic (section 4.2.2.1.), the form of the suffix is -ding, as bènding 'having assembled', fìnding 'being black' and sìnànding 'having become wet'.

The stative participle is only formed by the suffixation of verbs of Class II and Class III and is intransitive in character, never being found with an object nominal phrase. It combines with the verbs be '(locational) be' and te 'not be' to indicate the achievement of a state connected with the process or activity referred to by the verb:



à y'ee láa 'he laid himself down' : à be láaring 'he is lying'

à y'ee lòo 'he stood up' : à be lòoring 'he is standing'

à siinoo ta 'he fell asleep' : à be siinooring 'he is asleep'

à sii ta 'he sat down' : à be siiring 'he is seated'

à dèwung ta 'he became perplexed' : à be dèwunding 'he is perplexed'

ì beng ta 'they met' : ì be bending 'they are meeting'

The suffix also combines with verbs which are already stative in character. When the stative participle thus formed from the stative verb combines with be or te there is no difference in meaning from the corresponding combination of the stative verb with the operators ta or mang, as is noted in section 6.1.3. in the discussion of the relationship between the stative verbs and the 'attainment' verbs:

à wulee ta 'it is red' : à be wuleering 'it is red'

à fànu ta 'it is wide' : à be fànuring 'it is wide'

à jàngayaa ta 'it is tall' : à be jàngayaaring 'it is tall'

à féyaa ta 'it is easy' : à be féyaaring 'it is easy'

à siyaa ta 'it is plentiful' : à be siyaaring 'it is plentiful'

Since the stative participle is found with the verbs be and te in a continuative construction further details will be found in the following chapter on the aspectual character of such a combination of items.

#### 4.2.4. Verbs, Type (y)

These verbs, which are found in Type 3 clauses, form a closed set of at least eight items. They differ from the verbs described and classified in section 4.2.2.3. in not combining with the operators. They are thus to be interpreted as carrying not only semantic, but also grammatical category information. They are listed with their exponential values here:

mu '(equative) be' - Indicative, Positive.

máa 'grant' - Injunctive, Completive, Positive.

lèe '(locational) be' (in questions only) - Positive.

bàng 'refuse' - Indicative, Completive, Positive.

kó 'say' - Indicative, Completive, Positive.

biring 'come from' - Indicative, Continuative, Positive.

be '(locational) be' - Indicative, Positive.

te '(locational and equative) not be' - Indicative, Negative.

All these verbs are intransitive and so do not combine with a pre-posed nominal phrase acting as object, although kó often combines with a following clause as complement and may also be found with mùng 'what?' serving as an object nominal, as in à kó mùng 'what does he say?', but such an object nominal is not pre-posed. They only participate in the tense scheme of the language to the extent that they are non-future, operator-free verbs; where reference to future events is required a different lexical item is chosen. Additionally, reference to past



events often requires the use of a different lexical item. The 'past' and 'future' reflexes of these verbs will be given in the discussion of the appropriate item. A more detailed treatment of be and te will be given since these verbs have a wide distribution in the language and are important in constituting one part of the verbal complexes forming the continuative and future constructions.

#### 4.2.4.1. mu

mu may be used without a postpositional adjunct for simple identification:

dac. // nte le mu // VbCl Type 3a.

1s intens. be  
(intens)

'it's me!'

dad. // s`enelaa le mu // VbCl Type 3a.

farmer intens. be

'he is a farmer'

dae. // s`unkutoo le mu // VbCl Type 3a.

girl+det. intens. be

'it's a girl'

In such cases it is usual for le to be present in the clause.

If two nominals are identified, the second is in a postpositional relationship with the first and is combined with ti 'with', which indicates a comitative relationship and is used in a number of constructions.

The association of the verb mu with this postposition suggests some such meaning as 'be compared' or 'be equated' for mu. It seems to be related to other items within the verbal system, such as múnta (múng in some dialects) and múlung, both of which correspond to 'appear':

daf. // sámoo mu dáafembaa le ti //

elephant+ be animal large intens. with  
det.

'the elephant is a large animal'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with postpositional adjunct.

dag. // féntiibaa le mu nyíng kèò ti //

thing owner intens. be this man with  
big

'this man is an important owner of property'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with postpositional adjunct.

The nominal phrase against which le is placed is thereby marked out as the theme of the clause.

The verb ké '(cause) come about' is used for any reference to future status or equivalence, when it combines with be or te in a postpositional relationship with these verbs in the future construction:

dah. // à te ké la mánsoo ti //

3s not be come about at king+det. with

'he will not become king'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with postpositional adjuncts.

The verb te serves as the negative counterpart of mu; such a function is discussed in section 4.2.4.7.

4.2.4.2. máa

The verb máa is used in imprecations, the usual subject nominal of which is Ála 'God':

dai. // Ála máa sùutudiyaa la //

God grant night pleasant with

'may God grant a pleasant night'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with postpositional adjunct.

daj. // Ála máa / / à ye nàa //

God grant 3s inj/cmpl come

pos

'God grant that he come'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a and VbCl Type 1a.

In its syntactical behaviour máa is similar to làfi 'want', which also combines with a postpositional adjunct in which la is present or with a clause containing an injunctive operator:

dak. // à làfi ta tàa la //

3s want ind/cmpl go for

pos/past

'he wants to go'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with postpositional adjunct.

dal. // à làfi ta / / à ye nàa //

3s want ind/cmpl 3s inj/cmpl come

pos/past pos

'he wants him to come'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b and VbCl Type 1a.

4.2.4.3. lèe

This verb is only found in interrogative clauses (see section 4.4.2.) and is used to enquire not only about the whereabouts of a person or some object but also about the state of health or the well-being of a person; in such cases it corresponds to 'how is?':

dam. // í la musoo lèe? // VbCl Type 3a.

2s at wife+det. be

'where is your wife?' or 'how is your wife?'

dan. // Naatoo lèe? // VbCl Type 3a.

Naatoo be

'where is Naatoo?' or 'how is Naatoo?'

4.2.4.4. bàng

The Type (y) verb bàng, on criteria both of meaning and shape, is related to the full verb bàng 'refuse', which regularly combines with the verbal operators. Its appearance without an operator would then seem to be an uncharacteristic usage of the full verb, but it is treated here as a Type (y) verb since it has a similar distribution to these verbs:

dao. // nte bàng / / Nyamindori bàng //

1s refuse Nyamindori refuse  
(intens)

'I refuse, Nyamindori refuses'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a (twice).

If any other time reference than the present is required,

bàng regularly appears with an operator:

dap. // à y'ee bàng // VbCl Type 1a with  
object NP.  
3s ind/cmpl refuse  
pos/past+reflx.

'he refused'

#### 4.2.4.5. kó

kó generally precedes a clause or set of clauses and may signal the direct discourse of any message or indirect discourse, in which case there is an appropriate modification of any pronominal forms to correspond to the new situation with different participants when the original message is being related:

daq. // ng kó / / í ye tàa jée //  
1s say 2s inj/cmpl go there  
pos

'I say you are to go there' or 'I said you  
were to go there'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a and VbCl Type 1a with adjunct  
of place.

dar. // dindingofaa kó / / ng be mung  
child+det. say 1pl be what  
father

le ké la? // VbCl Type 3a and VbCl Type  
3a with postpositional  
intens. cause come at adjunct.  
about

'the child's father said, 'What shall we do?''

das. // à kó / / féng-o-feng t'aàte fàa la//  
 3s say thing thing not be+3s cause at  
 die

'he said that nothing would kill him'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a and VbCl Type 3a with postpositional adjunct.

(The 'direct speech' of (das) would be féng-o-feng te nte fàa la 'nothing will kill me'.)

The Type (x) verb fó 'say' is used when other modality, aspectual, polarity and tense distinctions need to be made:

dat. // à m'áa fó // VbCl Type 1a with object  
 NP.  
 3s ind/cmpl say  
 neg/past+3s

'he didn't say it'

dau. // à b'aa fó la // VbCl Type 3a with  
 postpositional  
 3s be+3s say at adjunct.

'he will say it' or 'he is saying it'<sup>11</sup>

dav. // à s'aa fó // VbCl Type 1a with object  
 NP.  
 3s pot/cmpl say  
 pos+3s

'he might say it'

kó is probably to be linked with the clause-introducer kó 'that' and may have arisen as the result of the suppression of the verb fó 'say' in some cases.

#### 4.2.4.6. biring

The similarity in appearance between the final

<sup>11</sup> The continuative and future constructions are treated in section 4.2.4.7.

syllable of this verb and the stative participial suffix and the continuative character the verb exhibits suggest that it could be a stative participle which has assumed the distribution of the Type (y) verbs, though not the full distribution of the Type (x) verbs. But there does not appear in the corpus a verb from which biring might be plausibly derived, although it may be linked with bii 'draw, pull':

daw. // Fúloo biring nàng sàateedoo le to //

Fula+det. come hither village intens. at  
from other

'it was another village that the Fula was  
coming this way from'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjuncts of place.

dax. // ì biring nàng sùunyaaroo la //

3pl come hither stealing+det. at  
from

'they were coming this way from the theft'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct of place.

If completive or habitative aspect is required, the Type (x) verb bó '(cause) go out' would be used:

day. // Fúloo bó ta sàateo to //

Fula+det. go out ind/cmpl village+ at  
pos/past det.

'the Fula left the village'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjunct of place.

4.2.4.7. be and te

be and te function as locating verbs in both a temporal and spatial sense and te also serves as the negative counterpart of mu '(equative) be', with the same distributional properties as that verb. Both be and te may appear without postpositional adjuncts in the clause:

daz. // héera be // VbCl Type 3a.

peace be

'there is peace'

dba. // nte te // VbCl Type 3a.

1s not be  
(intens)

'it's not me'

dbb. // ate te // VbCl Type 3a.

3s not be

'it's not him'

As with the verb mu, the postposition ti 'with' appears in combination with the nominal phrase when te is present in the clause and identity is being denied:

dbc. // ng te Mandinkoo ti //

1s not be Manding person with  
+det.

'I am not of the Mandinka people'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct.



dbd. // mòo te nying sànkuloo kóto //  
 person not be this sky+det. beneath  
 'there is no-one beneath this sky'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct of place.

dbe. // ndemmoo te nying bánkoo káng //  
 chimpanzee+ not this land+det. upon  
 det. be  
 'there are no chimpanzees in this country'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct of place.

dbf. // sàfeeroolu be nying fàngo bála //  
 writing+det.+ be this machet+ body  
 pl.suff. det.  
 'there were letters on this machet'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct of place.

dbg. // nying fàngo be Mfallii búlu //  
 this machet+det. be Mfallii hand  
 'this machet was in the possession of Mfallii'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct of place.

The following citations illustrate the characteristic use of the verbs be and te as markers of location in a temporal sense:

dbh. // ng be tilikandoo le kono //  
 1pl be sun hot+det. intens. in  
 'it's the dry-season that we are in now'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct of place.

dbi. // Náa Máriyaama b'aa sànjitannaani //

Mother Mariyaama be+3s rainy- forty  
season

'Mother Mariyaama was in her fortieth year'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct of place.

dbj. // ñg be sáyíng méng to /

1pl be now which at

/ píkófoolu be siyaaring //

'pick-up'+ be being plentiful  
pl.suff.

'at the present time record-players are  
plentiful'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct of place and  
VbCl Type 3ai.

dbk. // wàatoo be témbijumaa le to

time+det. be stage what intens. at

sáyíng? // VbCl Type 3a with adjuncts of  
place and time.

now

'what time is it now?'

be and te also serve as the basis of the verbally complex continuative and future constructions, combining with verbs and verbal nominals followed by one of the postpositions la or káng or with the stative participle alone, though with the possibility of extension by various adjuncts. They also combine with the aspect-marker -kari to serve as the basis for the future habitative construction. Attention will be given to each of these functions.

i. be and te with Verbs and Verbal Nominals

The verbs be and te combine with postpositional adjuncts to form the continuative and future constructions, a function which is clearly connected with the use of the verbs as spatio-temporal locators. There are some restrictions, however, on the type of postposition which can combine with the verb or the verbal nominal in the postpositional adjunct found with be or te in these constructions: the only postpositions found in the continuative construction are káng 'upon' and la 'at, around' and the only postposition which appears in the future construction is la 'at, around'. In these constructions the verb in the adjunct may be preceded by an object nominal phrase:

dbl. // díndingo be pàlanteeroo yéle káng //  
 child+det. be window+det. open upon  
 'the child is opening the window' or  
 'the child was opening the window'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct.

dbm. // jàloo be tántango kósi la //  
 bard+det. be drum+det. sound at  
 'the bard is beating the drum' or 'the bard  
 was beating the drum' or 'the bard will beat  
 the drum'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct.

dbn. // à be tàa káng // VbCl Type 3a with adjunct.  
 3s be go upon  
 'he is going' or 'he was going'

dbo. // à be táama la // VbCl Type 3a with adjunct.  
 3s be journey at  
 'he is journeying' or 'he was journeying' or  
 'he will journey'

dbp. // à be dáaniroo káng // VbCl Type 3a with adjunct.  
 3s be begging+ upon  
 det.  
 'he is begging' or 'he was begging'

dbq. // ng be féngolu náati la //  
 1pl be thing+det.+ bring at  
 pl.suff.  
 'we are bringing the things' or 'we were bringing  
 the things' or 'we shall bring the things'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct.

Comments are required on the citations (dbl) to (dbq) since, as the translations show, a number of ambiguities can arise as the result of the use of one element or another.

káng, in other contexts, has the relational meaning of 'upon' or 'on the surface of':

dbr. // à ye dókoo láa miniyango káng //  
 3s ind/cmpl stick+det. cause python+det. upon  
 pos/past lie down  
 'he laid the stick on the python'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjunct of place.

With be or te and a following verb or verbal nominal accompanied by káng the relational meaning is clearly preserved and the whole has the more general meaning of 'being involved in' or 'engaged in the act of'; the referent of the nominal in subject position is conceived of as being occupied in, or located at, a particular activity or process, analogous to its being located more concretely in a spatial or temporal setting. The only ambiguity arises out of a lack of tense distinctions, past or present, exhibited by be and te, so that the translations may be by the present or past progressive tenses in English. The context determines the assignment of a temporal framework in those contexts where ambiguity could arise (see section 6.4.).

The assignment of such a definite relational meaning to la to account consistently for its usage on all occasions is not possible. In some contexts it has, like káng, the meaning of 'on the surface of', while at other times it indicates 'proximity to' or 'in the area of':

abs. // à      tàa      ta      báadaa      la      //

3s      go ind/cmpl river area at  
pos/past

'he went towards the river-area'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjunct of place.

dbt. // à y'èè láa à kába la //

3s ind/cmpl cause 3s shoulder at  
pos/past+3pl lie down

'he laid them on his shoulder'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjunct of place.

dbu. // kòlinnaa b'aa búlukonondingo la //  
ring be+3s hand digit+det. at

'there was a ring on his finger'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct of place.

dbv. // à bó ta túlungokaradoo la /

3s go out ind/cmpl playing+det. at  
pos/past side other

/ à taa ta káradoo la / / à

3s go ind/cmpl side other at 3s  
pos/past

y'aa búloo tíling dùlaalu la tèng //

ind/cmpl hand+det. straighten place+ at thus  
pos/past+3s pl.suff.

'she went from one side of the (musician's)

playing-area to the other and pointed towards

the places'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjunct of place (twice) and  
VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjuncts of  
place and manner.

(It should be noted here, in connection with the use of  
la and other postpositions, such as káng 'upon', kóno  
'inside', banta 'outside' and to 'at', that the  
postpositions in Mandinka indicate static, locative  
relationships, the components of 'movement towards',



'placement in' and 'movement away from' being features of the individual verbs.)

It would seem that this lack of precision in the meaning of la is an important factor contributing to the ambiguous status of sentences like (dbm), (dbo) and (dbq). Since la may variously mark relationships of proximity and co-extension, in combination with the verb or verbal nominal this imprecision is retained and the examples may be treated as continuatives or futures. The ambiguity, however, is resolved when the verb is one of the set of 'attainment' verbs (see section 6.1.3.); since the 'events' to which these verbs relate cannot be envisaged as having a perceptible or conceivable beginning, middle and end, they cannot be said to have duration and so the verbs do not feature in the continuative construction. Two such verbs, jé 'see' and móyi 'hear', may be considered here.

jé and móyi are what Ryle (1969:104) terms 'verbs of perceptual detection' and contrast with their counterpart 'verbs of perceptual exploration', jiibee 'examine' and lámoyi 'listen to', in not having any component of duration in their semantic make-up. When, thus, they combine with la in adjuncts connected with be or te in the clause the ambiguity is resolved and the reference is to post-utterance, and not continuing, perceptual events:

dbw. // à be d'índingo jé la //

3s be child+det. see at

'she will see the child'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct.

dbx. // ñg be kúoolu móyi la //

1s be word+det.+ hear at  
pl.suff.

'I shall hear the words'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct.

Ambiguity is also resolved in the case of the combination of be or te with an adjunct containing a stative verb (see section 6.1.3.). Since such verbs already have the component of the duration or continuation of a state or quality as part of their semantic make-up they unambiguously mark post-utterance 'states' when they combine with la and the verbs be or te:

dbv. // wò le be nyiinyaa la //

that intens. be be beautiful at

'it is that which will be beautiful'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct.

dbz. // àte le be j'angayaa l'eéte ti //

3s intens. be be tall at+2s with  
(intens) (intens)

'he is the one who will be taller than you'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjuncts.

(There are no distinct 'comparative' or 'superlative' forms of attributives (section 4.1.) or stative verbs;



comparison of items is made by the use of a verb, generally a stative, to which a postpositional adjunct containing ti 'with' and a pre-posed nominal phrase is linked, as in (dbz).)

It is evident that the Type (x) verb is to be regarded as a possible constituent of the postpositional adjuncts which combine with be and te and that the verbal elements within these constructions should not be interpreted in all contexts as the simple, unsuffixed form of the verbal nominal with the optional appearance of an object nominal phrase before the verbal nominal. This is confirmed by a consideration of the unsuffixed forms of some of the verbal nominals since it was shown in section 4.1. that not all the verbal nominals were identical in shape with the verb-form, especially in the case of those verbal nominals which are formed from mono-syllabic verbs of a CV structure by the lengthening of the vowel, such as jée 'seeing' (from jé 'see'), fóo 'saying' (from fó 'say') and kée 'doing' or 'happening' (from ké '(cause) come about'). If only the verbal nominal appeared in all such contexts, in the continuative and future constructions, with the possibility of the appearance of an object nominal phrase before it, now having a distribution rather similar to the gerund in English, then there would be a corresponding alteration in shape of those verbal nominals whose simple forms differed from the verb-form.

But this is seen not to be the case, as (dbw), which contains jé 'see' and not jée 'seeing', indicates.

ii. be and te with the Stative Participle

be and te combine with the stative participle to form another type of continuative construction. As was described in section 4.2.3., this relates to the attainment and continuation of a state or quality arising out of the particular activity or process described by the verb, if the verb is non-stative, or to the continuation of the state or quality described by the verb, if such a verb is a stative:

dca. // ì be sìiring Nyáani Dóboo //  
3pl be seated Nyaani Doboo

'they were seated at Nyaani Doboo' or 'they  
were settled at Nyaani Doboo'

Structure: VbCl Type 3ai with adjunct of place.

dcb. // músoo te lóoring síloo káng //  
woman+det. not be standing road+det. upon

'the woman is not standing on the road'

Structure: VbCl Type 3ai with adjunct of place.

dcc. // móo be kùuranding jée //  
person be being ill there

'a person is ill there'

Structure: VbCl Type 3ai with adjunct of place.

The ambiguity connected with the assignment of a specific time-reference, present or past, for be and te re-appears here; but the context, whether linguistic or extra-linguistic, usually makes the time-scheme clear.

iii. be and te with -kari

be and te combine with the aspect-marker -kari to form búkari and tíkari (with subsequent change in the quality of the vowel of be and te), which serve as components of the future habitative construction:

dcd.	//	ng	fánang	búkari	í	bùutee
		1s	also	be+aspect- marker	2s	beat
		la	wò	le	nyáa	// VbCl Type 3a with aspect-marker and adjuncts.
		at	that	intens.	way	

'that's the way I also shall keep on  
beating you'

dce.	//	ì	búkar'aa	díi	la	kàrammoo
		3pl	be+aspect- marker+3s	give	at	educated person
		le	la	// VbCl Type 3a with aspect-marker and adjuncts.		
		intens.	to			

'it is to the man of learning that they will  
keep on giving it'

dcf.	//	tìnyaaroo	tíkari	wára	la	//
		wastefulness	not be+ aspect-marker	be large	at	

'there will not be much wastefulness'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with aspect-marker and adjunct.

As a final comment on the verbs be and te, if other modality features are required or if reference to post-utterance events is being made, the Type (x) verb tára 'be found' acts as a substitute lexical item:

dch. // à si tára jée // VbCl Type 1a  
3s pot/cmpl be found there with adjunct  
pos of place.

'he could be there'

dch. // à be tára la Bányun // VbCl Type 3a  
3s be be found at Bathurst with adjuncts.

'he will be at Bathurst'

#### 4.2.4.8. Tonal Features of the Type (y) Verbs

Of the Type (y) verbs listed in section 4.2.4., máa, lèe, bàng, kó and biring behave regularly in their tonal patterning, as the tone markings indicate. mu, be and te behave slightly differently.

mu is a tonal enclitic, taking its pitch from that of the preceding syllable:

wò mu kàmbaanoo le ti [ / - - - - ] 'that's a young  
man'

nte le mu [ - - - - ] 'it's me'

When appearing in any environment other than with an adjunct in the future and continuative constructions the verbs be and te have level tone:

à be jée [ - - - ] 'he is there'

ng be jée [ - - - ] 'I am there'

But when they appear in the future or continuative constructions they function as tonal enclitics and take their pitch pattern from the pitch of the preceding syllable or from that of the following pronominal:

à be bó la [- - - -] 'he will leave' or 'he is leaving'

ng be bó la [- - - -] 'I shall leave' or 'I am leaving'

i be bó la [- - - -] 'they will leave' or 'they are leaving'

à t'aa ké la [- - - -] 'he will not do it' or 'he is not doing it'

#### 4.2.5. nene

nene 'ever' or 'once' serves as a modifier of the operators ye<sub>1</sub>, ta and mang and the verb be. When it combines with these items, placed immediately before them and after the nominal phrase in subject position, it has the effect of adding punctuality to the specified time:

dci.	//	ng	nene	mang	kunkuwooloo	je	//
		1s	once	ind/cmpl	farm dog+det.	see	
				neg/past			

'I have never seen a wild dog'<sup>12</sup>

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

<sup>12</sup> kunkuwooloo, literally 'farm dog', refers to the wild dogs which roam around the cultivated farms, which are usually placed at some distance from the villages in the bush.

dcj. // Piniyayinkoolu tú jée / / káatu  
 Piniyayi person+ cause there because  
 det.+pl.suff. become left  
 behind

ì nene y'ee fáng kàrafa ng  
 3pl once ind/cmpl self entrust 1s  
 pos/past+reflx.

ma le // VbCl Type 2 with object NP and  
 adjunct of place and VbCl Type  
 to intens. 1a with object NP, adjunct and  
 clause-introducer (káatu).

'leave the people of Piniyayi be, because it was  
 to me that they once entrusted themselves'

dck. // ng nene be lòoring jée //  
 1s once be standing there  
 'I was once standing there'

Structure: VbCl Type 3ai with adjunct of place.

The sentences (dci), (dcj) and (dck) are taken from  
 that part of the corpus provided by the main informant,  
 from Kudang. But an informant from Baddibu, approximately  
 seventy miles to the west of Kudang, used what appears  
 to be a fused form, showing more clearly the strict  
 dependency of nene on the operator to which it is joined.  
 Corresponding to the Kudang informant's nene mang he had  
námanang, and to nene ye and nene....ta he had nánta:

dcl. // à námanang dǐng sòto //  
 3s once+ind/cmpl child obtain  
 neg/past

'she never had a child'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

dcm. // wóliibaadoo le nánta sòto jée //

religious intens. once+ obtain there  
hermit great other ind/cmpl  
pos/past

'another great hermit was once found there'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with adjunct of place.

dcm. // íte nánta à jé / / kèò

2s once+ 3s see man+det.  
(intens) ind/cmpl  
pos/past

be wúluu 1a? // VbCl Type 1a with  
object NP and VbCl  
be give birth at Type 3a with adjunct.

'have you ever seen a man giving birth?'

Since the Kudang informant would presumably have had wóliibaadoo le nene sòto ta jée and íte nene y'aa jé for (dcm) and the first clause of (dcm) (on the basis of the distribution of nene in his own dialect), it seems that in the Baddibu dialect nene has the effect of not merely attracting ta from its usual position but also of neutralising the difference in the distributional properties of ye and ta in appearing with and without an object nominal phrase respectively by introducing a complex operator with the function of marking punctuality, as well as serving as exponent of the various category-terms associated with ye and ta.

#### 4.3. Finite and Non-Finite

The character of the verbal complexes described in section 4.2.4.7. in connection with the distribution



of be and te raises the question of the status of the various verbal elements with which be and te combine and the possibility of setting up within the language a finite/non-finite distinction.

There are no inflectional processes which serve to mark the verb-form as finite in Mandinka. There are thus no limitations in respect of person or in respect of modal, aspectual, polarity or tense features displayed by the verb-form in isolation, except in the case of the second-person, operator-free injunctives, which are marked for person and for 'Injunctive', 'Completive' and 'Positive', though not overtly, and the Type (y) verbs, which, apart from the semantic information they carry in respect of activity, process or state, also serve as exponents of certain category-terms. However, in spite of this lack of specific morphological marking shown by the verb, since the limitations of person are imposed by the nominal in subject position and those connected with the grammatical category-terms set up in section 4.2.1. provided by the operators, a verb which appears as a constituent of any clause having the structure of one of those set up in section 3.1.2. may be considered finite, provided that such a verb occupies the position of ' $V_x$ ' or ' $V_y$ ' marked in these clause types. Verbs with such a finite status may then be compared with other verbal elements which can co-occur in the same clause.



Among the non-finite forms, however, it is possible to make certain distinctions, whether of form or of potential combination, namely when there are two or more verbs in the same clause.

It has already been seen that the stative participle is morphologically distinct from the verb. It is also possible to point to certain elements which serve to mark what are to be regarded as non-finite forms. As the stative participle does not occur in independent clauses except in conjunction with be and te it is justifiable to regard it as a non-finite form. In most cases (the exceptions will be considered below) a verb is marked as having a non-finite status by the presence of the postpositions la and káng or by the pre-posing of the item ka. Each may be considered in turn.

The marking of a verb within the clause as non-finite by the presence of káng or la was demonstrated in section 4.2.4.7. in respect of the future and continuative constructions. Additionally, there is a set of verbs which are characteristically construed with a verb, with or without a preceding object nominal phrase, followed by the postposition la, three of which are lâfi 'want', nyàng 'have a duty' and sòng 'agree':

à lâfi ta tàa la 'he wants to go' VbCl Type 1b with adjunct.  
à sòng ta tàa la 'he agreed to go' VbCl Type 1b with adjunct.  
à nyàng ta tàa la 'he ought to go' VbCl Type 1b with adjunct.

The exceptions to the consistent marking of a verb as non-finite by either la or káng are provided by the verbs tàa 'go' and nàa 'come'. With these verbs the presence of la or káng in adjuncts in the future and continuative constructions is optional:

à be tàa la jée or à be tàa jée 'he is/was going there' or  
'he will go there' VbCl Type 3a with adjuncts.

à be nàa káng or à be nàa 'he is/was coming' VbCl Type 3a  
with adjunct.

If the verbs tàa or nàa function as main verbs within the clause, an adjunct containing a verb may appear with or without the postposition la:

dcó. // Sàng tàa ta nyíng féngolu  
Hare go ind/cmpl this thing+det.+  
pos/past pl.suff.

nyíning // VbCl Type 1b with adjunct.

seek

'Hare went to look for these things'

dcp. // ì nàa ta wúli // VbCl Type 1b with  
3pl come ind/cmpl get up  
pos/past adjunct.

'they came to get up'

dcq. // nyíng wàatoo be nàa síi la //  
this time+det. be come suit at

'it was coming to be the right time'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjuncts.

dcr. // à la bánkoo nàa ta ké  
 3s at land+det. come ind/cmpl come  
 pos/past about  
 la bánkubaa ti // VbCl Type 1b with  
 at land big as adjuncts.  
 'his land came to be a great one'

dcs. // ì be tàa Sùnjata la mòolu  
 3pl be go Sunjata at person+  
 pl.suff.  
 màa la // VbCl Type 3a with adjuncts.  
 touch at  
 'they were going to molest Sunjata's people'

A pre-posed ka also serves to mark a verb as non-finite. Such a group, ka with an attendant verb, may then serve as an adjunct, on the pattern of those given in sentences (dco) to (dcs), or as a nominal phrase:

dct. // à hákiloo bùla ta ka tàa //  
 3s understanding+ become ind/cmpl - go  
 det. placed pos/past  
 'he remembered to go'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjunct.

dcs. // ñg nyina ta ka sùboo sàng //  
 1s forget ind/cmpl - meat+ pass in  
 pos/past det. trade  
 'I forgot to buy the meat'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjunct.

dcv. // í mang nyína ka kòridaadaa  
 2s ind/cmpl forget - compound door  
 neg/past

sòrong // VbCl Type 1a with adjunct.

lock up

'you didn't forget to lock up the door of  
 the compound'

dcw. // ka tàa jée, wò le jàmfa ta //  
 - go there that intens. be ind/cmpl  
 distant pos

'it's a long way to that place'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with emphasised subject NP.

(The function of ta when combining with stative verbs, such as jàmfa, is discussed in section 6.1.3.)

It is not clear what, if any, relationship holds between the item ka in such environments and the operator ka. It appears to be more convenient to treat ka in the sentences (dct) to (dcw) as a marker of the non-finite use of a verb since, as the citations show, there does not appear to be any aspectual distinctions involved in this use of ka and it may also be found in negations, as in (dcv). The interpretation of ka in these contexts as a non-finite marker would also serve to explain its derived function as a substitute form for certain operators (see section 8.2.).

In summary, it may be said that although only one obviously finite use of the verb itself may be encountered

in the language (in the second-person, operator-free injunctives) and that otherwise the limitations that are imposed are a function of the nominal in subject position and the operators, or the nominal in subject position alone, if it is in combination with a Type (y) verb, at least two non-finite uses of the verb may be delimited: the first, the participial usage, is clearly marked morphologically and the second is signalled by the presence of one of the items ka, la or káng or not at all in some cases where the preceding verb is tàa or nàa or when either of these verbs combine with be or te. Such a distinction is of use in demarcating the various functions of the verbal elements which constitute the future and continuative constructions.

#### 4.4. Summary of Established Categories

In the following chapters fuller treatment will be given to the terms in the category of Tense (Chapter Six), Aspect (Chapter Five) and Mood (Chapter Seven, for 'Potential' and 'Injunctive'). Polarity will be treated in the following section and a discussion of question markers given in section 4.4.2.

##### 4.4.1. Polarity

Little need be said about this category since it contains the self-explanatory terms 'Positive' and

'Negative'. It is not possible, from a consideration of the morphology of the operators or the Type (y) verbs, to derive either the 'Negative' operators or the verb te from the 'Positive' operators or the verb be or the 'Positive' operators or the verb be from their corresponding 'Negative' counterparts. Since, furthermore, there does not appear to be any 'marked' usage of an operator or verb which functions as an exponent of one of the terms in the category of Polarity serving also as an exponent of the other term in the same category and so functional overlap is not observable in this category, Polarity need not be treated further.

#### 4.4.2. Interrogative

None of the operators or verbs within the language serve as exponents of interrogation. It is not necessary, then, to set up 'Interrogative' as one of the terms in the category of Mood. In fact, questions are distinguished from statements, predictions and injunctions by a number of devices, though not by the employment of an operator or verb which acts as a strict marker. These devices are treated here and it can be seen that features of interrogation in the clause are carried by markers which co-occur with the operators marking 'Indicative', 'Potential' and 'Injunctive'. The three ways of marking a clause as interrogative are by means of the particle

bàng, the presence of an interrogative pronominal or the employment of a special intonation pattern.

a. bàng

This particle is always found in clause-final position and serves to question statements, predictions or injunctions; it marks the clause as interrogative:

dcx. // à sayi ta le bàng? //

3s return ind/cmpl intens. question-  
pos/past marker

'did he return?'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with question-marker.

dcy. // kòdi le b'aa búlu bàng? //

money intens. be+3s hand question-  
marker

'has he got any money?'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct of place and question-marker.

dcz. // í ka tàa jée le bàng? //

2s ind/hab go there intens. question-  
pos/non-fut marker

'is it there that you usually go?'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with adjunct of place and question marker.

dda. // í s'aa sàmba bàng? //

2s pot/cmpl carry question-  
pos+3s marker

'might you carry it?'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and question-marker.



ddb. // sìi bàng? // VbCl Type 2 with question-  
marker.  
sit question-  
marker

'sit down, won't you?'

ddc. // nàa jàng bàng? // VbCl Type 2 with  
adjunct of place  
come here question- and question-marker.  
marker

'come here, won't you?'

ddd. // à lándi jàng bàng? // VbCl Type 2  
with object NP,  
3s lay here question- adjunct of  
marker place and  
question-marker.

'put it down here, won't you?'

(Injunctions which contain the particle bàng are extremely peremptory in character and are only used with children and social inferiors if an offensive response is not to be expected.)

#### b. Interrogative Pronominals

These also serve to mark clauses as interrogative:

dde. // jùmaa le y'aa sàng? // VbCl Type 1a  
with object  
who intens. ind/cmpl pass in NP.  
pos/past+3s trade

'who bought it?'

ddf. // à tàa ta ming to? // VbCl Type 1b  
with adjunct  
3s go ind/cmpl where to of place.  
pos/past

'where did he go?'



### c. Interrogative Intonation Pattern

The varieties of intonation pattern within the language are treated by Rowlands (1959:30-36) and the examples given there conform to the patterns within the corpus collected for the present study. Interrogative clauses are marked by a special heightened intonation pattern or by a rise in relative pitch towards the end of the clause:

í mang bó jée? 'you didn't leave there?' [ - - - ]

This pattern is to be distinguished from the pattern of the corresponding statement:

í mang bó jée 'you didn't leave there' [ - - - ]

which is more compact and does not show such wide differences in pitch interval.

A similar pattern is observable with moving tone verbs:

í nàa ta? 'you've come?' [ - \ - ]  
í nàa ta 'you came' [ - \ - ]

As an example of a rise in relative pitch towards the end of the clause the following may be cited:

Báa Fóde lèe? 'where/how is Baa Fode?' [ - - - / ]

## Chapter Five

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## Chapter Five

### Aspect

#### 5.0. Introductory

Within the set of operators there is a basic opposition between those operators which serve as the exponents of the category-term 'Compleitive' and those which serve as the exponents of the category-term 'Habitative', an opposition which is analysable as a distinction between a single instance of the type of event<sup>1</sup> or state or quality<sup>2</sup> reflected by the verb and multiple instances of such events, states or qualities. In addition to this, the verbal complexes containing be and te serve to indicate action in progress with those verbs which relate to activities or processes which may have duration.<sup>3</sup> These aspectual differences will be

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<sup>1</sup> 'event' is used here to cover both observable and unobservable activities, processes and changes of state.

<sup>2</sup> Stative verbs are treated in section 6.1.3.

<sup>3</sup> Excluded from such a set for this reason are the stative verbs, which are, by definition, non-action verbs, and those verbs which refer to changes of state, the attainment to which does not carry the implication of duration (e.g. lóng 'know', sùutee 'recognise' and jé 'see', discussed in section 6.1.3.).

considered separately. Any uncharacteristic usages of an operator in not functioning with its usual aspectual exponential value, such as the use of ka with the verb nāa 'come' to indicate continuing activity, will be considered in the section dealing with that operator.

The operators in Mandinka have multiple exponential values and so the aspectual marking carried by any single operator is also linked with other functions possessed by the same operator, primarily with polarity and modal values, which are carried by all the operators, and also, in the case of some operators, with the added function of indicating tense distinctions. As a result, although the aspectual distinctions remain substantially the same whatever the tense, polarity or modal functions of an operator, other factors are to be considered when single or multiple instances of an activity or process are being referred to. These factors will be alluded to in this chapter but more detailed coverage of the other values of the operators will be given in the following chapters.

### 5.1. 'Completive' Operators

In conjunction with the verb the 'Completive' operators serve to relate to single instances of an event or state, such instances being viewed as uninterrupted

and complete.<sup>4</sup> Such events may or may not have extension in time - this is a feature of the semantic make-up of the individual verb rather than a function of any operator. It is only when duration is considered an important phase of an activity or process that attention is drawn to it by the combination of one of the verbs be or te with an adjunct containing a verbal element (cf. section 5.3.).

#### 5.1.1. ye, ta and mang

The use of ye or ta with a verb marks the affirmation that a single event of the type specified by the verb took place at some time prior to the time of the utterance, if such a verb is non-stative, or that a certain continuing quality or state is to be predicated of the nominal in subject position, if such a verb is stative:

ea. // nyulu m̀oofuloo ye kíilaa kii //  
           this+pl. person two+ ind/cmpl messenger send  
           suff.           det.       pos/past

'these two people sent a messenger'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

---

<sup>4</sup> With verbs referring to 'cyclical' activities, where a recurrent pattern is observable throughout a series, a 'Completive' operator may relate to a single cycle or an infinitely extensible series of such cycles, provided the series remains uninterrupted. Among the set of such verbs are bíndee 'hoe', b̀ori 'run', b̀uutee 'beat', fínja 'fan', júuma 'limp' and pódi 'jump'.

eb. // móoridoo le mu / / à ye  
 marabout intens. be 3s ind/cmpl  
 other pos/past  
 Ála batu báake // VbCl Type 3a and  
 God wait very VbCl Type 1a with  
 upon much object NP and adjunct  
 of manner.

'there was another marabout, and he  
 worshipped God very much'

ec. // Sankuura ye mánayaa tàa fórseo  
 Sankuura ind/cmpl kingship cause force+  
 pos/past go det.  
 kóno / / à y'aa fáng ké  
 inside 3s ind/cmpl self cause  
 pos/past+3s come about  
 mánasa ti // VbCl Type 1a with object NP and  
 king as adjunct (twice).

'Sankuura took the kingship by force and  
 made himself king'

ed. // ì fanaalu y'eè la mánayaa ké //  
 3pl also+pl. ind/cmpl at kingship cause  
 suff. pos/past+3pl come  
 about

'they also served as kings'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

ee. // kèloo le ye Mànding lòo /  
 fighting+ intens. ind/cmpl Mànding stand  
 det pos/past  
 / kèloo le naa ta à jànjang //  
 fighting+ intens. come ind/cmpl 3s disperse  
 det. pos/past

'it was fighting which established Manding and

it was fighting which came to break it up'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and VbCl Type 1b with adjunct.

ef. // bùtung `i múru ta / / kábiring  
 now then 3pl return ind/cmpl when  
 pos/past  
 kèloo tàa ta / / hánifo `a  
 fighting+ go ind/cmpl until 3s  
 det. pos/past  
 kàndi ta // VbCl Type 1b with bùtung and  
 become ind/cmpl VbCl Type 1b with clause-  
 hot pos/past introducer (twice).

'now then, when the fighting went on until it  
 became fierce they retired'

eg. // `a nàa ta móorooyaa / / `a  
 3s come ind/cmpl marabout+det. 3s  
 pos/past presence  
 kàcaa ta jée // VbCl Type 1b with adjunct  
 talk ind/cmpl there of place (twice).  
 pos/past

'she went to the marabout's place and  
 talked there'

eh. // kòlongo diinong ta báake le //  
 well+det. be deep ind/cmpl very intens.  
 pos

'the well is very deep'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjunct of manner.

The combination of mang with a verb indicates the



denial of a single past event or a continuing state or quality:

ei. // tána mang sòto ì la mán sayaa  
trouble ind/cmpl obtain 3pl at kingship  
neg/past

kóno / / ì mang kúukoleng láa  
inside 3pl ind/cmpl affair hard cause  
neg/past lie  
down

mòolu káng // VbCl Type 1a with adjunct of  
person+ upon object NP and adjunct of place.  
pl.suff.

'no trouble arose during their kingship and they  
imposed no hardship on the people'

ej. // ì nene mang fùta ng yáa //  
2s once ind/cmpl arrive 1s presence  
neg/past

'you have never come to my place'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with adjunct of place.

ek. // à yáa mang jamfa // VbCl Type 1a.  
3s presence ind/cmpl be distant  
neg

'his place is not far away'

### 5.1.2. ye, the Operator-Free Injunctives and kana

The combination of ye<sub>2</sub> with a verb or the use of a verb in isolation without a subject nominal phrase or with áli 'you(plural)' serving as subject nominal and as a constituent of a Type 2 clause represents an



instruction to carry out a single activity or process of the type referred to by the verb or reflects a strong conviction on the speaker's part that such a single event will take place:

el. // ñga fínti kátabake // VbCl Type 1a  
with adjunct of  
1pl+inj/cmpl go out immediately time.  
pos

'let's get out immediately!'

em. // níng Ála y'eé dáa `arijannoo  
if God ind/cmpl make heaven+det.  
pos/past+2s

kámma / / fó í ye wò sòto  
for - 2s inj/cmpl that obtain  
pos

dòrong // VbCl Type 1a with object NP, adjunct  
of purpose and clause-introducer and  
only VbCl Type 1a with object NP, adjunct  
and clause-introducer.

'if God has made you for Heaven, that is just  
what you will get'

(The function of fó in such clauses is discussed in  
section 7.1.3.)

en. // fó í ye ñg la kódoó jóo //  
- 2s inj/cmpl 1pl at money+ pay  
pos det.

'you will pay our money back!'

Structure: VbCl 1a with object NP and clause-introducer.

eo. // yámfa ñg ma // VbCl Type 2 with adjunct.

forgive 1s to

'forgive me'

The appearance of the operator kana with a verb marks a total prohibition against engaging in the type of event described by the verb. These may be first-, second- or third-person prohibitions. With the second-person singular prohibitions i 'you' is optionally present as the subject nominal in the clause:

ep. // kána nying fengo màa kóteke! //

inj/cmpl this thing+ touch again  
neg det.

'don't touch this thing again'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjunct of time.

eq. // ñg kána b́ankukotengolu dáani //

1pl inj/cmpl land other+det.+ beg  
neg pl.suff.

'let us not beg the other countries'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

er. // wò kán'ée d́ewung // VbCl Type 1a  
that inj/cmpl cause become with object  
neg+2s perplexed NP.

'don't let that worry you'

es. // misilimoo kána d́oloo ming //

Moslem+det. inj/cmpl alcohol+ drink  
neg det.

'a Moslem must not drink alcohol'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

(The prohibition to total abstinence contained in (es) would contrast with a prohibition to over-indulgence if the 'Habitative' kaakari substituted for kana.)

et. // í nyàng ta / / í kari sìi  
 2s have a ind/cmpl 2s inj/hab sit  
 duty pos/past pos  
 súo kóno / / í kana tàa dǎa-o-daa //  
 compound+ inside 2s inj/cmpl go area area  
 det. neg

'you should keep on sitting in the compound  
 and not go anywhere'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b and VbCl Type 1a with adjunct  
 of place (twice).

### 5.1.3. si

The operator si combines with the verb to  
 indicate a prediction, with more or less commitment on  
 the speaker's part, that a single event will take place:

eu. // méng si nte fǎa / / wò le  
 what pot/cmpl 1s cause that intens.  
 pos (intens) die  
 mu nying ti // VbCl Type 1a with  
 be this with object NP and VbCl  
 Type 3a with adjunct.

'this is what could kill me'

ev. // í si sèwusuboo dómo // VbCl Type 1a  
 2s pot/cmpl pig meat+ eat with object  
 pos det. NP.

'you could eat pork'

ew. // í si í la Álabatoo ké dǒrong //  
 2s pot/cmpl 2s at God worship+ cause only  
 pos det. come  
 about

'you must just carry out your worship of God'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjunct.

ex. // í si tàa / / í si nyulu  
 2s pot/cmpl go 2s pot/cmpl this+  
 pos pos pl.suff.  
 dii í la saa la // VbCl Type 1a and  
 give 2s at snake to VbCl Type 1a with  
 object NP and  
 adjunct.  
 'you must go and give these to your snake'

ey. // n'g láfi ta / / í si n'g  
1s want ind/cmpl 2s pot/cmpl 1s  
pos/past pos  
samba / / fó n'g si ng m'ing //

carry in order 1s pot/cmpl reflx. drink  
that pos

'I want you to carry me so that I might drink'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b, VbCl Type 1a with object NP and VbCl Type 1a with object NP and clause-introducer.

ez. //      ńg      láfi      ta      sáying      /      /      ńg      si

1s      want      ind/cmpl      now      1s pot/cmpl  
pos/past      pos

fùta      ńg      báadingolu      ma      /      /      ńg

arrive 1s      mother child+      to      1s  
det.+pl.suff.

si      múru      ńg      báadingolu      ma //

pot/cmpl      return      1s      mother child+      to  
pos      det.+pl.suff.

'I would now like to go to my relatives and  
return to them'

Structure: VbC1 Type 1b with adjunct of time and VbC1  
Type 1a with adjunct (twice).

## 5.2. 'Habitative' Operators

The 'Habitative' operators contrast with their 'Completive' counterparts by combining with a verb to relate to a series of temporally discrete instances of the type of event specified by that verb, if the verb is non-stative. Such a series may embrace any number of separate instances of an event from two to infinity and for this reason the conjunction of an 'Habitative' operator with a verb may serve to mark events which occur only occasionally or events which are highly frequent and take place over a wide time-scale. With stative verbs the operators ka and buka mark generalisations about the frequency of the quality or state referred to by the verb.

There is evidence, in a limited number of examples from the corpus, of some functional overlap exhibited by some of these operators in marking not only a series of discrete events but also continuing activity. The extent of this overlap will be examined in the relevant section on the operator in whose distribution it is observable.

### 5.2.1. ka and buka

ka combines with the non-stative verb to mark the affirmation that a set of repeated events have taken place over a period of time prior to the time of the utterance. (Temporal adjuncts make clear, with ka and buka

as operators in the clause, whether such generalisations cover events which extend up to the time of the utterance or to some time prior to it (cf. section 6.4.).) With a stative verb ka indicates the relative frequency of the quality or state expressed by the verb.

eaa. // à ye minango mûta kâmbaanoo  
 3s ind/cmpl deer+det. take youth+det.  
 pos/past  
 ti wúloo kóno / / à ka kínoo  
 as bush+det. inside 3s ind/hab food+  
 pos/non-fut det.  
 tábi / / à ka à sâmba à ma //  
 cook 3s ind/hab 3s carry 3s to  
 pos/non-fut

'she took the deer as her lover in the bush  
 and used to cook and bring food for it'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjuncts,  
 VbCl Type 1a with object NP and VbCl Type  
 1a with object NP and adjunct.

eab. // nyíng mûsoo ka tàa móoroo  
 this woman+det. ind/hab go marabout+  
 pos/non-fut det.  
 yáa kâcaa la // VbCl Type 1a with  
 place talking for adjuncts of place  
 and purpose.

'this woman used to go to the marabout's  
 place to talk'

eac. // ng ka wò mòo le nyíning //  
 1s ind/hab that person intens. seek  
 pos/non-fut

'that's the person I keep looking for'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

ead. // tìlikandoo kóno bánkoo ka jàa  
 sun hot+det. inside land+ ind/hab dry  
 det. pos/non-fut

le // VbCl Type 1a with adjunct of time.  
 intens.

'the land dries during the dry-season'

eae. // í ka tú kèebaabatandoo la  
 2s ind/hab remain man great troubling+ at  
 pos/non-fut det.

dòrong // VbCl Type 1a with adjuncts.

only

'you just persist in troubling your elders'

eaf. // sàmoolu ka wára // VbCl Type 1a.

elephant+ ind/hab be large  
 det.+pl.suff. pos/non-fut

'elephants tend to be large'

The operator buka differs from ka only in that it serves as an exponent of the term 'Negative':

eag. // wò le y'aa tinna / /  
 that intens. ind/cmpl cause  
 pos/past+3s

fùtuunaafuloo búka sìyaa báake //  
 marriage wealth+ ind/hab be plenty very  
 det. neg/non-fut

'that is the reason that the bride-price is  
 not usually very high'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and VbCl Type 1a with adjunct.



eah. // mòolu búka wúli dèrong / /  
 person+ ind/hab get up only  
 pl.suff. neg/non-fut  
 ì ye tàa kànkurango bóndi //  
 3pl (conj) go masquerader+ remove  
 det.

'people just don't get up and go and bring  
 the masquerader out'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with adjunct and VbCl Type 1a  
 with adjunct.

(The function of the operator ye as a conjunctive form  
 is discussed in section 8.1.)

eai. // tilikandoo kóno sànjio búka  
 sun hot+det. inside sky water+ ind/hab  
 det. neg/non-fut  
 ké // VbCl Type 1a with adjunct of  
 time.  
 come about

'it doesn't usually rain in the dry-season'

#### 5.2.1.1. Appearance of ka with nàa 'come' and in Clauses Introduced by jànnìng 'before'

There are two special usages associated with  
 the operator ka where the 'Habitative' function is not  
 present: with the verb nàa 'come' and in clauses which  
 are introduced by jànnìng 'before'.

In a limited number of examples from the corpus  
 the operator ka combined with nàa and the particle dé,  
 which marks a high degree of emotional involvement on the



part of the speaker, to describe not recurrent, but continuing activity:

eaj. // dàakoyoo ka nàa dé! // VbCl Type  
 antelope+det. ind/pos come emotion- 1a with  
 non-fut marker adjunct.

'there's an antelope coming!'

eak. // sáyikuloo ka nàa dé! // VbCl Type  
 bicycle+det. ind/pos come emotion 1a with  
 non-fut marker adjunct.

'there's a bicycle coming!'

The features which are common to the situations expressed in sentences (eaj) and (eak) are the movement of an object towards the speaker and excitability on his part. Although there is nothing in the contexts from which (eaj) and (eak) were taken to suggest a series of interrupted 'comings' the speaker appears to be 're-phasing' the type of activity taking place by re-casting the single, continuing event as a series of discrete and arrested movements ('the antelope is coming and coming and coming..' and 'the bicycle is coming and coming and coming...'). Such examples occur only in a dramatic situation and they contrast with the less emotionally-charged and more matter-of-fact sentences containing be with the verb nàa, with or without the postposition la:

eal. // dàakoyoo be nàa la // VbCl Type 3a  
 antelope+det. be come at with adjunct.

'an antelope is coming'

eam. // sáyikuloo be náa // VbCl Type 3a  
 bicycle+det. be come with adjunct.  
 'a bicycle is coming'

ka is also found with a verb in dependent clauses introduced by jànnìng 'before' as a free variant for the use of be with an adjunct containing a verb or a verbal nominal. This usage is also uncharacteristic since both exponential values of 'Habitative' and 'Non-Future' are neutralised:

ean. // ì mǎng dómoroo ké / / jǎnnìng  
 3pl ind/cmpl eating+ cause  
 neg/past det. come about before  
 súnkaroo ka fǎa // VbCl Type 1a with  
 fast month+ pos/ind die object NP and VbCl  
 det. Type 1a with clause-  
 introducer.

'they did not eat before the end of Ramadan'

eao. // jǎnnìng tìloo ka bòyi / / à  
 before sun+det. pos/ind fall 3s  
 fùta ta sàateo to //  
 arrive ind/cmpl village+ to  
 pos/past det.

'he arrived at the village before the sun set'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with clause-introducer and  
 VbCl Type 1b with adjunct of place.

eap. // jǎnnìng lúntango ka nǎa / /  
 before guest+det. pos/ind come  
 búngo fíta // VbCl Type 1a with clause-  
 house+ sweep introducer and VbCl Type  
 det. 2 with object NP.

'sweep the house before the guest arrives'

eaq. // jànn'íí ka kàrango nòò / / í  
 before+2s pos/ind reading+ master 2s  
 det.  
 be bàtaa la báake le //  
 be become at very intens.  
 weary

'you will become very weary before you are  
 able to read'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and clause-  
 introducer and VbCl Type 3a with adjuncts.

(The combination of be with a verbal adjunct and jànnìng  
 is treated in section 5.3.1.)

#### 5.2.2. kari and kaakari

The conjunction of kari with a verb represents  
 an instruction to carry out more than one instance of the  
 type of activity described by the verb. A prohibition  
 against a series of instances of the type of activity  
 described by the verb is marked by kaakari in combination  
 with the verb.

ear. // n'íí ka nàa ng yáa jàng /  
 if+2s ind/hab come 1s presence here  
 pos/non-fut  
 / ng fánang nyàng ta / / ng  
 1s also have a ind/cmpl 1s  
 duty pos/past  
 kari t'èé yáa //  
 inj/hab go+2s presence  
 pos

'if you keep coming here to my place, I also  
ought to keep going to your place'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with adjuncts of place and  
clause-introducer (ning), VbCl Type 1b  
and VbCl Type 1a with adjunct of place.

eas. // áltolu nyàng ta à kúmandi la /  
2p1 have a ind/cmpl 3s summon for  
(intens) duty pos/past  
/ à kari dòokuu k'ááli ye //  
3s inj/hab work cause come for  
pos about+2p1

'you ought to summon him and he should be  
doing work for you'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjunct and VbCl Type 1a  
with object NP and adjunct.

eat. // n'íí ye féng-o-feng jé / / í  
if+2s ind/cmpl thing thing see 2s  
pos/past  
kaakar'aà tòmbong // VbCl Type 1a with  
inj/hab pick up object NP and clause-  
neg+3s Type 1a with object  
NP.

'you are not to keep picking up whatever  
you see'

eau. // mòo káakari tàa jée //  
person inj/hab go there  
neg

'a person should not keep going there'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with adjunct of place.

5.2.3. sikari

The contrast in aspectual function shown by sikari as against si is illustrated by the following citations:

eav. // ì sikari tàa fàroo to  
 3pl pot/hab go marsh+ to  
                   pos                   det.

nyàntanteo la // VbCl Type 1a with adjuncts  
 of place and purpose.  
 thatch cutting+ for  
                   det.

'they could keep on going to the marsh to  
 cut thatch'

eaw. // níng sàmaa sii ta / / mòolu  
 when rainy- settle ind/cmpl person+  
                   season pos/past pl.suff.  
 sikari ì fànaalu òùng bíndeo la //  
 pot/hab 3pl also+pl. put hoeing+ for  
                   pos suff.                   det.

'when the rainy-season has arrived the people  
 will be putting them also to the task of the  
 hoeing'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with clause-introducer and VbCl  
 Type 1a with object NP and adjunct of purpose.

eax. // wò le ye wò dáani / / kó  
 that intens. ind/cmpl that beg that  
                   pos/past  
 à si mòo díi ì la / / méng  
 3s pot/cmpl person give 3pl to who  
                   pos  
 sikari ì la nàsoolu bó //  
 pot/hab/pos 3pl at charm+det.+pl.suff. produce

'he begged him to give them someone who could  
produce their charms (for them)'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP, VbCl Type 1a  
with object NP, adjunct and clause-introducer  
(kó), and VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

The aspectual contrast which holds between si and sikari  
is clearly indicated in sentence (eax): whereas the  
granting of a person to those asking for him is a single  
act and so requires an operator marked for 'Completive'  
value to describe it, the function of that person as a  
marabout and so as a producer of 'nasoo'<sup>5</sup> would require  
him to engage in several discrete activities of producing  
the charms during the time he would be working for these  
people and so the description of such a series of  
activities requires the presence of an 'Habitative'  
operator.

### 5.3. be and te and Continuing Activities and States

The verbs be and te combine with the verbal  
elements described in section 4.2.4.7. to relate to the  
affirmation (with be) or the denial (with te) that an  
event or state is continuing. In such a usage it is the  
feature of duration which is being emphasised (cf. Palmer,

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<sup>5</sup> This is a charm for which prophylactic powers are  
claimed and is produced by rinsing off from a slate  
chalked quotations, usually from the Koran. The  
resulting liquid is then bottled and drunk as required.

1965:61). The time-span occupied by the continuing state or activity may either be identical with that occupied by another continuing activity or state, as in (eay) and (eaz), or may overlap some shorter time-span, as in (eba) and (ebb):

eay. // wò tùmoo Sàng be tàa / /  
 that time+ Hare be go  
 det.  
 Súluu b'ee dòng la //  
 Hyena be+reflx. dance at  
 'at that time Hare was going on and Hyena  
 was dancing'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjuncts and VbCl Type 3a with adjunct.

eaz. // kàbir'ii be tàa káng / / wòloo  
 when+3pl be go on bush-  
 fowl+det.  
 be máaboring fítoo kóno //  
 be hidden thicket+ inside  
 det.  
 'while they were going on the bush-fowl was  
 hidden inside the thicket'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct and clause-introducer (kàbiring) and VbCl Type 3ai with adjunct of place.

eba. // níng kèloo be kéering / / fò  
 if fighting+ be occurring -  
 det.  
 í fàngo ye tàa kèloo to dòng//  
 2s self+ inj/cmpl go fighting+ to only  
 det. pos det.



'if fighting is occurring, you just have to go  
to the battle'

Structure: VbCl Type 3ai with clause-introducer and  
VbCl Type 1a with adjuncts and clause-  
introducer.

ebb.	//	ì	be	kàcaa	la	tùma	méng	la	/
		3pl	be	talk	at	time	which	at	
		/	Sùnjata	la	kúo	nàa	ta	fínti	
			Sunjata	at	affair+ det.	come	ind/cmpl pos/past	go out	
		jée	/	/	hàni	fó	ì	bùla	ta
		there		even	until	3pl	become	ind/cmpl placed pos/past	
		nýing		mánsayaakuo	kóno	//			
		this		kingship	inside				
				affair+det.					

'while they were talking the question of Sunjata  
came up there and they became involved in this  
question of the kingship'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjuncts, VbCl Type 1b with  
adjuncts and VbCl Type 1b with adjunct of  
place and clause-introducer.

But such continuing activities or states do not invariably  
serve to provide a temporal framework in which some other  
activity or series of activities may be located. If the  
feature of duration requires stress, the continuative  
construction may appear 'absolutely' and so need not act  
as a temporal link within a set of clauses. In such cases,  
where the phase of duration is emphasised, a verbal complex  
containing be or te may serve as a variant for the use of



a 'Completive' operator and verb, as in (ebe).

ebc. // Sáng be dènkiloo láa la dòrong //  
Hare be song+det. lay at only

'Hare just kept on singing the song'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjuncts.

ebd. // à be tàa káng / / à be tàa káng//  
3s be go upon 3s be go upon

'he was going on and on'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct (twice).

ebe. // wò b'aa nyénte káng / / à y'aa  
that be+3s approach upon 3s ind/cmpl  
pos/past+3s

nyénte // VbCl Type 3a with adjunct  
and VbCl Type 1a with object NP.  
approach

'he was approaching him, and came near him'

As the obverse of the phenomenon noted in section 5.2.1.1., where it was seen that the operator ka may combine with the verb nàa 'come' to relate not to multiple instances of a type of event but to a continuing activity, is the use of be with a verbal adjunct to mark multiple instances of a type of event rather than a single, continuing activity or process. In such contexts be with a verbal adjunct serves as a free variant for ka with a verb and the two types may freely commute within the text:

ebf. // nying musoo be féngolu díi la  
 this woman+det. be thing+ give at  
 det.+pl.suff.

móoroo la / / à be féngolu ké  
 marabout+ for 3s be thing+ cause  
 det. det.+pl.suff. come  
 about

la à ye / / à be dómoroolu  
 at 3s for 3s be eating+  
 det.+pl.suff.

tábi la à ye // VbCl Type 3a with  
 cook at 3s for adjuncts (three times).

'this woman was giving things to the marabout,  
 doing things for him and cooking meals for him'

ebg. // à be móoroo bula la dòokuo  
 3s be marabout+ cause at work+det.  
 det. become  
 placed

la / / móoroo fánang ka  
 at marabout+ also ind/hab  
 det. pos/non-fut

dòokuo k'áa ye // VbCl Type 3a  
 work+ cause for with adjuncts  
 det. come about+3s and VbCl Type  
 1a with object  
 NP and adjunct.

'she kept putting the marabout to work and  
 he kept doing it for her'

In the contexts in which this phenomenon was noted the  
 reference was to a series of recurrent events closely  
 linked in time, so that the 're-phasing' which takes place

serves to mark the unity of the activities contained within the series rather than their discreteness, as though the speaker were merging events which, in the external world, were temporally discrete, however slightly, into a unified and continuing whole.

### 5.3.1. Appearance of be in Clauses Introduced by jànnìng 'before'

be combines with an adjunct containing a verb or a verbal nominal in dependent clauses introduced by jànnìng 'before'. In this role it serves as a free variant for the use of ka with the verb in similarly introduced clauses (cf. section 5.2.1.1.):

ebh.	//	mòolu	si	bèng	/	/	jànnìng	
		person+	pot/cmpl	assemble			before	
		pl.suff.	pos					
		kúmandango	be	nàa	la	//	VbCl Type	
		commissioner+	be	come	at		1a and VbCl	
		det.					Type 3a with	
							adjunct and	
							clause-introducer.	

'the people could meet before the commissioner  
comes'

ebi.	//	jànnìng	ng	be	sàyi	la	/	/	ng
		before	1s	be	return	at			1s
		be	tàa	bólongo	kóno	//	VbCl Type 3a		
		be	go	creek+det.	inside		with adjunct		
							and clause-		
							introducer		
							and VbCl Type		
							3a with adjuncts.		

'before I return I shall go to  
the creek-country (i.e. the provinces)'

#### 5.4. búkari and tíkari and Post-Utterance Events

Reference to a series of post-utterance events is made by the combination of búkari (for an affirmation that such events will take place) or tíkari (for a denial of such events) with an adjunct consisting of a verb and the postposition la. The verb may be optionally preceded by an object nominal phrase. (Further details on búkari and tíkari with citations illustrating their distribution and their function in indicating post-utterance events are found in sections 4.2.4.7. and 6.3.)

ebj. // mùsoo búkar'aa kée kúmandi la  
 wife+det. be+aspect- husband summon at  
 marker+3s

wò too le la // VbCl Type 3a with  
 that name intens. with aspect-marker and  
 adjuncts.

'that is the name that the wife will be  
 calling her husband by'

ebk. // à tíkari sáli la / / káatu  
 3s not be+ pray at because  
 aspect-marker

à mang kéndeyaa // VbCl Type 3a with  
 3s ind/cmpl be aspect-marker and  
 neg healthy adjunct and VbCl  
 Type 1a with clause-  
 introducer.

'he will not keep up his prayers, because he  
 is not well'

## Chapter Six

### Tense and Time Sequence

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## Chapter Six

### Tense and Time Sequence

#### 6.0. Introductory

Attention is given in this chapter to the way in which the operators ye, ta and mang serve as exponents of the category-term 'Past' in Mandinka and to the significance for time relationships of the employment of the various verbal complexes containing be and te, the constituents of which were described in section 4.2.4.7. Also to be considered here are the members of the class of stative verbs and the resolution of ambiguity in connection with the assignment of a time scheme when those operators and Type (y) verbs which are not marked for Tense appear in the clause.

There are no operators or verbs which act as exponents of a present tense in the language; where ambiguity might arise there are a number of adjuncts which clarify the time scheme. There is a certain lack of balance in the set of operators in that the 'Habitative' counterparts of the 'Completive' operators ye, ta and mang are not marked for the exponential value of 'Past', although, as noted in section 4.2.1., they are to be regarded as 'Non-Future' operators since they do not serve to indicate generalisations covering future events.

With ka and buka those generalisations which refer to a set of events extending up to the present time are delimited from generalisations which cover events extending up to some point in the past by the presence of temporal adjuncts where ambiguity might arise (section 6.4.).

#### 6.1. ye, ta and mang

With certain exceptions covered in sections 6.1.3. and 6.1.4., ye and ta, when combining with verbs, correlate with the affirmation, and mang with the denial, of past events,<sup>1</sup> though 'past' in relation to some point of time reference which is explicit or assumed. To indicate the time sequence which is involved it is necessary to draw a distinction between the appearance of these operators in independent and dependent clauses.

##### 6.1.1. ye, ta and mang in Independent Clauses

In single, independent clauses constituting a sentence structure (section 3.1.) ye, ta and mang combine

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<sup>1</sup> 'Past events' covers those which have actually taken place (or denied actuality in the case of mang) and also those which, by a common convention associated with the telling of stories, are assumed to have taken place (with ye and ta) or assumed not to have taken place (with mang).

with the verb to relate to pre-utterance situations, the point of time reference which is applicable in this case being the 'now' underlying the time of the utterance itself:

fa. // à ye tiyoo fwii kúnkoo to //

3s ind/cmpl ground- plant farm+ at  
pos/past nut+det. det.

'he planted the groundnuts at the farm'

(tiya is a mass noun.)

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjunct (place).

fb. // kèloo le ye bàjonkoo sáabu //

battle+ intens. ind/cmpl migration+ cause  
det. pos/past det.

'it was the battle which caused the migration'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

fc. // sàa y'aa kíng à sìngo to //

snake ind/cmpl bite 3s leg+ at  
pos/past+3s det.

'a snake bit him on his leg'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjunct (place).

fd. // à fínti ta wúloo kóno //

3s go out ind/cmpl bush+ inside  
pos/past det.

'he went out from the bush'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjunct (place).

fe. // à bóri ta // VbCl Type 1b.

3s run ind/cmpl  
pos/past

'he ran'



ff. // kòr'daatio táama ta // VbCl Type 1b.

compound- journey ind/cmpl  
owner+det. pos/past

'the owner of the compound went on a journey'

fg. // à la kàrandingo máng nàa fólóo //

3s at pupil+det. ind/cmpl come yet  
neg/past

'his pupil has not yet come'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with adjunct (time).

fh. // à máng màamang // VbCl Type 1a.

3s ind/cmpl move  
neg/past

'he didn't move'

fi. // à la máadiminnoo mang nùkung //

3s at wound-trace+ ind/cmpl hide  
det. neg/past

'his scar did not disappear'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a.

The time schematisation for all the above citations can be symbolised as follows:

$t_1 \dots \dots \dots T_n$

where ' $T_n$ ' refers to the 'now' of the time of the utterance itself, ' $t_1$ ' to the time at which the respective events were either stated or denied to have occurred and where the location of ' $t_1$ ' to the left of ' $T_n$ ' assigns temporal priority to ' $t_1$ ' over ' $T_n$ '.

A similar time scale can be plotted for a string

of clauses constituting a sentence, where such clauses are not introduced by any of the temporal clause-introducers (section 3.3.):

fj. // à ye péeloo sàmba / / à  
 3s ind/cmpl spade+det. take 3s  
 pos/past  
 ye dínkoo síng // VbCl Type 1a with  
 ind/cmpl hole+det. dig object NP (twice).  
 pos/past

'he took the spade and dug the hole'

fk. // wùloo ye sángo báyi / / à  
 dog+det. ind/cmpl hare+ chase 3s  
 pos/past det.  
 òùng ta dínkoo kóno //  
 enter ind/cmpl hole+det. inside  
 pos/past

'the dog chased the hare and went into the hole'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and VbCl Type 1b with adjunct of place.

fl. // òannoo tàa ta déemoo la /  
 hunter+det. go ind/cmpl hunting+ for  
 pos/past det.  
 / à ye jàtoo fàa //  
 3s ind/cmpl lion+det. cause die  
 pos/past

'the hunter went hunting and killed the lion'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjunct (purpose) and VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

For the above three examples the schematisation which is relevant for the time-sequence involved is:

$$t_1 \dots \dots \dots t_2 \dots \dots \dots T_n$$

which indicates that the event referred to in the first clause, occurring at  $t_1$ , was prior in time to the event referred to in the second clause, occurring at  $t_2$ . Both events were prior to  $T_n$ , the time at which the utterance took place.

Such a string of clauses, where time sequence is signalled by clause order, appears to be more common as a device for indicating sequence than a string of clauses where time relationships are overtly indicated by the presence of temporal clause-introducers (section 6.1.2.):

fm. // à ye juloo tàa / / à ye  
 3s ind/cmpl rope+det. cause 3s ind/cmpl  
 pos/past go pos/past  
 miniyango siti / / à y'ee nyúng  
 python+det. bind 3s ind/cmpl load  
 pos/past+reflx.  
 à la / / à y'aa láa à kába la //  
 3s with 3s ind/cmpl cause 3s shoul- on  
 pos/past+3s lie der

'he took the rope, bound the python, loaded it up  
 and put it on his shoulder'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP (twice) and  
 VbCl Type 1a (twice), both with object  
 NP's and adjuncts.

Time sequence:  $t_1 \dots \dots \dots t_2 \dots \dots \dots t_3 \dots \dots \dots t_4 \dots \dots \dots T_n$

### 6.1.2. ye, ta and mang in Dependent Clauses

Interrelationships of time different from those described in the previous section come into operation when temporal clause-introducers are present in the clause, since clause-order may be changed without there being a corresponding modification of the time sequence which is applicable to the events referred to in the clauses:

fn. // kàbiring à nàa ta / / ng m'aa  
 since 3s come ind/cmpl 1s ind/cmpl  
 pos/past neg/past+3s

jé // VbCl Type 1b with clause-introducer  
 and VbCl Type 1a with object NP.  
 see

'since he came I haven't seen him'

fo. // ng m'aa jé / / kàbiring à  
 1s ind/cmpl see since 3s  
 neg/past+3s  
 nàa ta // VbCl Type 1a with object NP  
 and VbCl Type 1b with clause-  
 come ind/cmpl introducer.  
 pos/past

'I haven't seen him since he came'

fp. // à y'aa yitandi moolu la / /  
 3s ind/cmpl show person+ to  
 pos/past+3s pl.suff.  
 biring i bée bèng ta // VbCl Type 1a with  
 when 3pl all meet ind/cmpl object NP and  
 pos/past adjunct and VbCl  
 Type 1b with clause-  
 introducer.

'he showed him to the people when they all met'



'he didn't go there until I came'

When present as an introducer to clauses containing ye, ta and mang the item fó combines with the operator and the verb to relate to the affirmation or denial of events prior to the time of the utterance but subsequent to the events referred to in the potentially free clause(s) with which the dependent clause is combined. The relevant time-scheme, then, for citations (fq) to (fs) is similar to that assigned to citations (fj) to (fl):

$$t_1 \dots \dots \dots t_2 \dots \dots \dots T_n$$

where ' $t_2$ ' refers to the time of the event specified in the clause introduced by fó, and ' $t_1$ ' to the time of the event (or denial of such an event having occurred at  $t_1$  when mang is present) related in the potentially independent clause with which the fó-clause is found.<sup>2</sup>

A rather different time-scheme, but one which is clearly connected with prior events, operates in the case of clauses introduced by ning 'if,when'. Such clauses relate to the affirmation or denial of hypothetical situations which are viewed as being conditionally prior to the past or future situations specified in the clause(s)

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<sup>2</sup> fó also serves to introduce clauses containing the operators ye<sub>2</sub> and kana. Such a usage and a description of the time-scheme involved is discussed in section 7.2.1.

with which the clauses introduced by níng are connected:

ft. // níng à ye féng soto / / à  
 if 3s ind/cmpl thing obtain 3s  
 pos/past

y'aa dómo // VbCl Type 1a with object NP  
 and clause-introducer and  
 ind/cmpl eat VbCl Type 1a with object NP.  
 pos/past+3s

'if he obtained anything, he's eaten it'

For (ft) the hypothetical acquisition is prior in time to the situation expressed in the apodosis, so that the relevant time-schematisation can be symbolised:

$t_1 \dots t_2 \dots T_n$

where the event specified in the protasis, if it took place at all, occurred at  $t_1$ , that in the apodosis at  $t_2$ , and both were prior to the time of the utterance.

Since any operator or any of the verbal complexes containing be and te may appear in the apodosis and since the hypothetical event referred to in the protasis is, in terms of temporal reference, necessarily prior to the event specified in the apodosis, a special ordering of time relationships is applicable when future situations<sup>3</sup> are reflected in the apodosis:

<sup>3</sup> Such future situations may be marked by the various verbal complexes containing be and te (for uncommitted predictions), by si and sikari (for committed predictions) and by the 'Injunctive' operators (for orders to future activities) and operator-free injunctions.

fu. // n'aa ye samatoo sang i ye /  
 if+3s ind/cmpl footwear+ pass in 2s for  
 pos/past det. trade  
 / a b'aa sang la i fulandinnyoo ye //  
 3s be+3s pass in at 2s twin for  
 trade

'if he buys shoes for you, he will buy them for  
 your twin'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP, clause-introducer and adjunct, and VbCl Type 3a with adjuncts.

fv. // ning jali-o-jali taa ta wolu yaa /  
 if bard bard go ind/cmpl that+ place  
 pos/past pl.suff.  
 / i t'ee buunyaa la //  
 3pl not be+3pl entertain at

'if any bard goes to their place, they will not  
 entertain them'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with clause-introducer and adjunct (place), and VbCl Type 3a with adjunct.

fw. // n'ii ye maanoo bo teng / / i  
 if+2s ind/cmpl rice+ cause thus 2s  
 pos/past det. go out  
 si daasaamoo tabi //  
 pot/cmpl breakfast+ cook  
 pos det.

'if you take out the rice in this way, you can  
 cook the breakfast'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP, clause-introducer and adjunct (manner), and VbCl Type 1a with object NP.



fx. // n'íí ye sítifengonyimmaa jé  
 if+2s ind/cmpl tie thing fine see  
 pos/past  
 daa-o-daa / / í sikar'aà dúng //  
 area area 2s pot/hab put on  
 pos+3s

'if you see beautiful clothing anywhere,  
 you should be putting it on'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and clause-introducer and VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

fy. // n'íí tàa ta marseo to /  
 if+2s go ind/cmpl market+ to  
 pos/past det.  
 / suboo sàng // VbCl Type 1b with clause-introducer and adjunct  
 meat+ pass in (place) and VbCl Type 2  
 det. trade with object NP.

'if you go to the market, buy meat'

fz. // níng kúu-o-kuu ké ta wúloo  
 if affair affair come ind/cmpl bush+  
 about pos/past det.  
 kono / / mûsoolu kána à lóng //  
 inside woman+det.+ inj/cmpl 3s know  
 pl.suff. neg

'if anything happens in the bush, the women  
 are not to know about it'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with clause-introducer and adjunct (place) and VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

The important factor for the assignment of a temporal framework for the sentences (fu) to (fz) is that the

condition expressed in the first of the two clauses must have been realised before the activity or process predicted, enjoined or advised in the second of the clauses can be realised. The time sequence can then be symbolised:

$$t_1 \dots \dots \dots t_2$$

where the hypothetical event referred to in the protasis, occurring, if at all, at  $t_1$ , is necessarily prior in time to the predicted, enjoined or advised activity or process at  $t_2$ .

' $T_n$ ' has not been included in the formula for this set of sentences since an ambiguity often arises over the assignment of temporal priority to  $t_1$  or  $T_n$ . In some cases the set of conditions required for the realisation of a further set of circumstances may have been realised before the time of the utterance, the hypothetical nature of the statement being a consequence, say, of lack of precise information, while in other cases it may be realised as a post-utterance event. As a result of this,  $T_n$  may be located to the right or to the left of  $t_1$ , though always to the left of  $t_2$  in the sentences being discussed, in the plotting of any time scheme where the events which are related in the apodosis are post-utterance events. This allows an alternative translation in English for the first of each of the clauses in citations (fu) to (fz), as the conditional event may be a pre-utterance event.

The alternative translations for these clauses would employ the perfect rather than the present tense, as 'if he has bought shoes for you....' (fu), 'if any bard has gone to their place....' (fv), 'if you have taken out the rice this way....' (fw), etc.

A temporal framework comparable with the one set up for the conditionals introduced by níng can be seen to be applicable to the following:

faa. // à ye féng-o-feng jé sìloo káng /  
           3s ind/cmpl thing thing see road+ on  
                     pos/past det.  
       / à s'aa tòmbong //  
           3s pot/cmpl pick up  
                     pos+3s

'whatever he sees on the road he will pick up'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjunct (place) and VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

fab. // hani í y'ee bòri / / í  
           even 2s ind/cmpl run 2s  
                     pos/past+reflx.  
           te kána la //  
           not be escape at

'even though you run away you will not escape'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and clause-introducer and VbCl Type 3a with adjunct.

The relevant time-scale for (faa) and (fab) is:

$t_1 \dots \dots \dots t_2$

where the hypothetical circumstances expressed in the first of the two clauses are prior to the ones which are envisaged in the second of the clauses.

### 6.1.3. Attainment Verbs and Stative Verbs

#### i. Attainment Verbs

There is in Mandinka a set of verbs which are to be grouped together on semantic criteria in that they serve to indicate, as part of their function, the attainment to a particular state and are so labelled here 'attainment' verbs. They are distinguishable from the stative verbs, treated in the following sub-section, in regularly combining with ye, ta and mang to relate to the attainment or the achievement of a state at some time prior to the time of the utterance. Several sets of verbs may be delimited as being connected with different types of achievement, such as those which express the attainment of a particular position within the community, like séefuyaa 'become chief' and mánsayaa 'become king', those which relate to the arrival at a particular physiological state, as bàtaa 'tire', kàmbaaniyaa 'become a young man',<sup>4</sup> kèebayaa 'become old',<sup>4</sup> kuurang 'become ill', lábara 'become thin'

---

<sup>4</sup> Since the attainment to maturity or old age involves new responsibilities and obligations within the community, especially among the Mandinka, these verbs overlap into the set containing mánsayaa and séefuyaa.

and siira '(cause) become faint', and those which refer to a change in the texture, appearance or temperature of objects, such as jàa 'dry', kàndi 'become hot', mòo 'ripen', sìnang 'become wet' and súmayaa 'become cold':

fac. // à mánstayaa ta // VbCl Type 1b.  
 3s become king ind/cmpl  
 pos/past

'he became king'

fad. // díndingo kùurang ta // VbCl Type 1b.  
 child+ become ill ind/cmpl  
 det. pos/past

'the child became ill'

fae. // bánkoo jáa ta // VbCl Type 1b.  
 land+det. dry ind/cmpl  
 pos/past

'the land dried'

faf. // tiloo kàndi ta bii // VbCl Type 1b  
 sun+det. become ind/cmpl today with adjunct  
 hot pos/past (time).

'the sun became hot today'

fag. // dímbaa súmayaa ta // VbCl Type 1b.  
 fire become cold ind/cmpl  
 pos/past

'the fire became cold'

In keeping with its function the operator ta here marks events prior to the time of the utterance; the temporal framework required to symbolise the sequence is thus

$t_1 \dots \dots \dots T_n$

which as a time framework is equivalent to the one set up to cover the citations (fa) to (fi).

The attainment verbs, when they combine with the operators being discussed, relate to the attainment of a particular state, marking the arrival at a state rather than the state itself.<sup>5</sup> The stative analogues for the sentences (fac) to (fag) would contain the respective stative participle derived from the verb (section 4.2.3.):

fac(1). // à be mán'sayaaring // VbCl Type 3ai.  
3s be being king

'he is ruling'

fad(1). // d'índingo be kùuranding // VbCl Type 3ai.  
child+det. be being ill

'the child is ill'

fae(1). // b'ánkoo be jaaring // VbCl Type 3ai.  
land+det. be being dry

'the land is dry'

faf(1). // t'iloo be k'andiring bìi // VbCl Type 3ai  
sun+det. be being hot today with adjunct (time).

'the sun is hot today'

fag(1). // d'ím'baa be s'umayaaring // VbCl Type 3ai.  
fire be being cold

'the fire is cold'

---

<sup>5</sup> For this reason an English translation by means of the perfect tense, with its feature of 'current relevance', has been avoided. (For 'current relevance' see Palmer (1965:73-76).)

Two important groups of attainment verbs which require comment for the time sequence involved when they occur with ye, ta and mang are those reflecting the attainment of a certain cognitive state, such as the verbs dánkeneyaa 'become convinced', kálama 'become aware of', lóng 'know', mùta 'catch, grasp'<sup>6</sup>, míira 'think', nyína 'forget' and wákili 'decide, resolve', and those which are connected with the onset of certain emotional states, as kánu 'love', kóng 'hate', jíki 'hope', láfí 'want', nímisa 'regret', and síla '(cause) become afraid':

fah. // à dánkeneyaa ta nyíng la //

3s become ind/cmpl this at  
convinced pos/past

'he became convinced of this'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjunct.

fai. // nga wò lóng // VbCl Type 1a with  
object NP.  
1s+ind/cmpl that know  
pos/past

'I know that' (lit. 'I got to know that'.)

faj. // ì ye wò le míira // VbCl Type 1a  
with object  
NP.  
3pl ind/cmpl that intens. think  
pos/past

'that is what they think' (lit. 'that is what  
they came to think'.)

<sup>6</sup> Like its equivalent in English and other languages, mùta covers cognitive and physical grasp.



fak. // kambaanoo ye sùnkutoo kànu //

young man+ ind/cmpl girl+det. love  
det. pos/past

'the young man loves the girl' or 'the  
young man fell in love with the girl'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

fal. // ñg láfi ta wò le la //

1s want ind/cmpl that intens. for  
pos/past

'that's the one I want' (lit. 'I became  
desirous of that one'.)

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjunct.

It is appropriate that for simple statements of fact about cognitive processes or emotional experiences such as are related in citations (fah) to (fal) the verb should combine with one of the past tense operators since the necessary mental or emotional states must have been reached before verbalisation about them can take place. In this respect the verbs of cognitive and emotional experience have the same possibilities of combination with ye, ta and mang as the verbs of perception:

fam. // ñga kùnnoo jé // VbCl Type 1a with  
object NP.

1s+ind/cmpl bird+ see  
pos/past det.

'I see the bird' or 'I saw the bird'

fan. // í ye ñg sùutee // VbCl Type 1a with  
object NP.  
2s ind/cmpl 1s recognise  
pos/past

'you recognise me' or 'you recognised me'



fao. // í y'aa móyi? // VbCl Type 1a with  
object NP.  
2s ind/cmpl hear  
pos/past+3s

'do you hear it?' or 'did you hear it?'

The time span which intervenes between the act of perception, the process of cognition or the attainment of a particular emotion and the corresponding verbal description of them may be brief or long. As a result of this, where ambiguity might arise temporal adjuncts make clear the time interval involved by locating the attainment of a state or the act of perception at a specific point of time:

fap. // ng'aa míira nùng / / í finki  
1s+ind/cmpl think that 2s become  
pos/past+3s time blind

ta // VbCl Type 1a with object NP and  
adjunct (time) and VbCl Type 1b.  
ind/cmpl  
pos/past

'I thought you had become blind'

faq. // ng'ée kànu le wò tùmoo //  
1s+ind/cmpl love intens. that time  
pos/past+2s

'I loved you then' or 'I came to love you then'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjunct (time).

For (fap) and (faq) the possibility of interpreting the thought or the love as recent attainments is avoided by the presence of the temporal adjuncts in each clause.

## ii. Stative Verbs

The stative verbs form a small class of items which, when combining with ta and mang<sup>7</sup> in the clause, relate to the affirmation (with ta) or the denial (with mang) of a state or quality which is predicated of the nominal in subject position. In this case the operators do not function as exponents of the past tense and so their usage in this respect may be said to be marked:

far. // Ála bétayaa ta // VbCl Type 1b.

God be good ind/cmpl  
pos

'God is good'

fas. // nyìng kòlongo máng diinong // VbCl Type 1a.

this well+det. ind/cmpl be deep  
neg

'this well is not deep'

fat. // kèloo díyaa ta à ye // VbCl Type 1b with adjunct.  
battle+ be ind/cmpl 3s for  
det. pleasant pos

'he likes fighting'

fau. // sìloo fànu ta // VbCl Type 1b.

road+ be wide ind/cmpl  
det. pos

'the road is wide'

---

<sup>7</sup> No transitive stative verbs were recorded in the corpus and so no instances of a stative verb combining with the operator ye<sub>1</sub>.

fav. // ì máng kíling // VbCl Type 1a.

3pl ind/cmpl be the same  
neg

'they are not the same'

faw. // wò fàngo mèlung ta // VbCl Type 1b.

that machet+ be sharp ind/cmpl  
det. pos

'that machet is sharp'

Like the Class II and Class III attainment verbs the stative verbs allow of suffixation by the stative participial suffix; but when the derived participle combines with be or te there is no change of meaning from the full verb as it combines with ta or mang:

fax. // wò le be díyaaring // VbCl Type 3ai.

that intens. be being pleasant

'it is that which is pleasant'

fay. // wò le díyaa ta // VbCl Type 1b.

that intens. be pleasant ind/cmpl  
pos

'it is that which is pleasant'

faz. // nyíng kúo be kòleyaaring //

this affair+ be being  
det. difficult

'this affair is difficult'

Structure: VbCl Type 3ai.

fba. // nyíng kúo kòleyaa ta // VbCl Type 1b.

this affair+det. be ind/cmpl  
difficult pos

'this affair is difficult'

Sentences (fax) and (fay), and (faz) and (fba) are, according to the main informant, synonymous.

There appears to be a connection between the attainment verbs and the stative verbs but this was not fully accounted for on the evidence of the distribution of the two sets of verbs within the corpus since there was some irregularity in this part of the verbal system. Thus, whereas an attainment phase could be clearly discerned in the use of the attainment verbs with the operators (cf. sentence (fz) for example, and the sentences (fac) to (fag)), contrasting with the stative phase indicated by the use of the corresponding stative participle derived from the verb and combining with the verbs be and te (cf. sentences (fac(1)) to (fag(1))), the stative counterparts of (fac) to (fag)), no such phase of attainment could be seen in the use of the stative verbs with the operators, nor was any contrast observable when the stative participle with be or te was used rather than the stative verb with ta or mang. If, at some earlier stage of the language, a contrast of meaning was in operation between the use of a verb with the past tense operators and the use of the derived participle with be or te throughout the verbal system, such a contrast is, in the case of some verbs, no longer evident. (The stative verbs are translated in the first appendix (Appendix A) by 'be' with a following adjective or

past participle or by 'be' with a following nominal phrase, e.g. kiling 'be the same'.)

#### 6.1.4. Marked Usage of mang with tàa 'go'

There is an uncharacteristic use of the operator mang, restricted to its combination with tàa 'go' and not found with other verbs, to mark a denial of future activity:

fbb. // sàama à mǎng tàa // VbCl Type 1a  
tomorrow 3s ind/cmpl go with adjunct  
neg (time).

'he will not go tomorrow'

fbc. // bì' ñg mang tàa dǎa-o-daa //  
today 1s ind/cmpl go area area  
neg

'today I'm not going anywhere'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with adjuncts of time and place.

Such a usage was not confined to the dialect spoken by the main informant but was also noted in the speech of informants from the Casamance area in Senegal and from Baddibu in The Gambia:

fbd. // áli mang tàa Bǎnyun bìi? //  
2pl ind/cmpl go Bathurst today  
neg

'you're not going to Bathurst today?'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with adjuncts of place and time.

(From the speech of an informant from the Casamance.)

fbe. // ng mang tàa jée // VbCl Type 1a  
 1s ind/cmpl go that with adjunct  
 neg place of place.

'I'm not going there'

(From a Baddibu informant.)

The marked character of such a usage is confirmed by the optionality of the appearance of the postposition la with the verb, even though the operator mang is also present in the clause:

fbf. // sàama à mǎng tàa la //  
 tomorrow 3s ind/cmpl go at  
 neg

'he will not go tomorrow'

The operator mang appears here to have encroached on the distributional properties of the verb te (section 4.2.4.7.) since (fbf) is synonymous with (fbg):

fbg. // sàama à te tàa la // VbCl Type  
 tomorrow 3s not be go at 3a with  
 adjuncts.

'he's not going tomorrow'

## 6.2. tára as a Specifier of Time Relationships

The verb tára 'meet with, find' is often used in clauses, generally of the form wò y'aa tára 'that found it' or à y'aa tára 'it found it', to mark the event(s) related in the following clause(s) as events which are prior in time to some already pre-utterance event or set of events:



fbh. // kàbiring d'indingo tàa ta / / à  
 when child+det. go ind/cmpl 3s  
 pos/past  
 y'aa tára / / nying sitakuloo  
 ind/cmpl find this baobab seed+  
 pos/past+3s det.  
 yelema ta nying saakatambaa ti //  
 change ind/cmpl this snake enormous as  
 pos/past large

'when the child went the situation was that  
 this baobab seed had changed into this  
 enormously large snake'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with clause-introducer, VbCl  
 Type 1a with object NP, and VbCl Type 1b  
 with adjunct.

The time scheme relevant to (fbh) is

$t_1 \dots t_2 \dots t_3 \dots T_n$

where the change into the snake takes place at  $t_1$ , the  
 going of the child at  $t_2$ , the situation expressed by  
à y'aa tára 'it (i.e. the situation) found it (i.e. the  
 metamorphosis of the baobab seed)' is located at  $t_3$  and  
 all this takes place prior to the description of it by  
 the narrator, at  $T_n$ . à y'aa tára serves to locate the  
 event in the following clause as one which had taken place  
 prior to the child's arrival; if the clause were absent,  
 the change of the baobab seed into the snake could only  
 be construed as having taken place after the arrival of  
 the child.

fbi. // sànjio nàa ta wáatoo méng /  
 sky water+ come ind/cmpl time+ which  
 det. pos/past det.  
 / à y'aa tára / / sènelaa  
 3s ind/cmpl find farmer  
 pos/past+3s  
 m'aa la kúnkoo sène //  
 ind/cmpl at farm farm  
 neg/past+3s land+det.

'when the rains came the farmer had not farmed  
 his land'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjunct (time), VbCl Type 1a  
 with object NP and VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

The sequence of events described in (fbi) differs from  
 that described in (fbj):

fbj. // sànjio nàa ta wáatoo méng /  
 sky water+ come ind/cmpl time+ which  
 det. pos/past det.  
 / sènelaa m'aa la kúnkoo sène //  
 farmer ind/cmpl at farm farm  
 neg/past+3s land+det.

'when the rains came the farmer did not farm  
 his land'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjunct (time) and VbCl  
 Type 1a with object NP.

The presence of the clause containing tára in (fbi)  
 marks the activity referred to and denied in the third  
 clause as prior to the arrival of the rains; in its  
 absence, as in (fbj), a time scheme equivalent to the



one established for the citations (fj) to (fl) is applicable.

### 6.3. be and te and Predictions Covering Future Events

The verbal complexes containing be and te, with or without the aspect marker -kari (section 4.2.4.7.), as well as having the aspectual function related to continuing activities or processes (section 5.3.) also serve to refer to post-utterance events. The difference between the use of be and te with a postpositional adjunct consisting of a verb or verbal nominal with the postposition la and the use of the operator si with the verb lies in the area of the degree of commitment the speaker is prepared to give when predicting future situations; whereas the use of si<sup>8</sup> implies some degree of commitment, from weak to strong, on the part of the speaker, there is no such commitment implied in the case of the use of the verbal complexes with be and te, which are neutral in respect of such attitudinal factors as strong or weak prediction or certainty or doubt:

fbk. // ng be féndantang le fó la //

1s be thing few intens. say at

'I shall say a few things'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with postpositional adjunct.

---

<sup>8</sup> The operator si is treated in the following chapter.

fb1. // à t'aa fáa la // VbCl Type 3a with  
 3s not be+3s fill at postpositional  
 adjunct.  
 'it will not fill it'

fbm. // àte le be jàngayaa l'éete ti //  
 3s intens. be be long at+2s with  
 (intens.) (intens.)  
 'it will be longer than you!'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with postpositional adjuncts.

fbn. // ng be fùtuu la áli ye //  
 1s be marry at 2pl for  
 'I shall be married to you'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with postpositional adjuncts.

fbo. // ng m'aa lóng / / ng be  
 1s ind/cmpl know 1s be  
 neg/past+3s  
 wò kúo ké la nyáa méng //  
 that affair+ cause at way which  
 det. come about  
 'I don't know how I shall arrange that affair'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and VbCl Type 3a  
 with postpositional adjunct and adjunct of  
 manner.

fbp. // í te ng fáa la //  
 2s not be 1s cause die at  
 'you will not kill me'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with postpositional adjunct.

fbq. // mòo-o-moo búkari dǐndingo kili  
 person person be+aspect child+det. call  
 marker

la wò too le la //  
 at that name intens. with

'that is the name that each person will be  
 calling the child by'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with aspect marker (-kari),  
 postpositional adjunct and adjunct of  
 manner.

fbr. // `a tikari dòokuo ké la //  
 3s not be+ work+ cause at  
 aspect marker det. come about

'he will not be doing the work'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with aspect marker (-kari) and  
 postpositional adjunct.

For sentences (fbk) to (fbr) the relevant time framework  
 is

$$T_n \dots t_1 \dots (t_2) \dots (t_3) \dots$$

where the events referred to in sentences (fbk) to (fbr)  
 are post-utterance events, predicted to occur or not  
 occur at  $t_1$ , and where the bracketed items refer to the  
 undefined subsequent occasions on which the child will  
 be called by the particular name (fbq) or the work will  
 not be done (fbr). The completive analogues for the  
 citations (fbq) and (fbr) would contain be and te without  
 the aspect marker, as mòo-o-moo be dǐndingo kili la wò  
too le la and `a te dòokuo ké la, 'each person will call  
 the child by that name' and 'he will not do the work'.

#### 6.4. Temporal Adjuncts as Time Markers

Since tense is not uniformly marked throughout the operator system and the set of Type y verbs, any possible ambiguity is resolved by the presence of temporal adjuncts in the clause, especially where such a clause contains one of the verbs be, te or mu, the operators ka or buka or the operators ta or mang when combined with a stative verb:

fbs. // ñg be Kómbóo le nùng //

1s be Komboo intens. that  
time

'it was the Komboo where I was at that time'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjuncts of place and time.

fbt. // wò tùmoo à be dáakaaring jée //

that time+ 3s be staying there  
det.

'he was staying there at the time'

Structure: VbCl Type 3ai with adjuncts of time and place.

fbu. // ì t'aa máakoyi la nùng //

3pl not be+3s help at that  
time

'they were not helping him then'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjuncts.

fbv. // mánsabaa le mu nùng Mànding kóno //

king great intens. be that Manding in  
(equative) time

'he was a great king in Manding'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjuncts of time and place.

fbw. // séefoosemboo ka wára báake

chief+det. ind/hab be large very  
power+det. pos/non-fut

nùng to // VbCl Type 1a with adjuncts of  
manner and time.  
that time at

'the power of the chief was very great then'

fbx. // ng ka méng nyíning nùng /

1s ind/hab what seek that  
pos/non-fut time

/ wò le ké ta //

that intens. come ind/cmpl  
about pos/past

'what I had been looking for happened'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjunct (time)  
and VbCl Type 1b.

fby. // nùng to wò le búka ké /

that at that intens. ind/hab come about  
time neg/non-fut

/ báo moolu máng kúning //

since person+ ind/cmpl wake up  
pl.suff. neg/past

'that didn't happen at that time because

people were not aware'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with adjunct of time and  
VbCl Type 1a with conjunction.

fbz. // à ka sàateemoolu sálindi nùng //

3s ind/hab village person+ cause that  
pos/non-fut pl.suff. pray time

'he used to lead the people of the village

in prayer at that time'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjunct (time).

fca. // kàafiroolu sìyaa ta Jòolaalu

unbeliever+ be plenty ind/cmpl Jola+pl.suff.  
det.+pl.suff. pos

kóno nùng / / sòoninkeolu sìyaa ta

among that pagan+det.+ be ind/cmpl  
time pl.suff. plenty pos

ìtolu kóno nùng //

3pl among that  
(intens) time

'there were many unbelievers among the Jola at

that time, and many pagans among them'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjuncts of place and time  
(twice).

fc. // nùng to séefukarannaalu mang sìyaa //

that at chief reader+ ind/cmpl be  
time pl.suff. neg plenty

'in those days educated chiefs were rare'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with adjunct of time.

The presence of nùng or wò tùmoo in the clause unambiguously marks the reference as being to events prior to the time of the utterance.

## Chapter Seven

### Potential and Injunctive

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## Chapter Seven

### Potential and Injunctive

#### 7.0. Introductory

The functions of those operators which serve as exponents of the terms 'Potential' or 'Injunctive' from the category of Mood are described in this chapter since the extent of functional overlap in this part of the operator system makes it more convenient to treat the various usages of these operators together.

#### 7.1. si and sikari

The operator si serves as the exponent of the three terms 'Potential', 'Completive' and 'Positive'; the compound operator sikari, which is derived from si by the suffixation of the aspect marker -kari, differs from si only in the assignment of aspectual terms, si acting as a 'Completive', and sikari as a 'Habitative', operator. Since aspectual and polarity distinctions have been covered in previous sections it remains to discuss the significance of the feature of modality in the use of si.

Within the three-term category of Mood, the terms 'Indicative' and 'Injunctive' are self-explanatory, relating to factual statements and commands respectively. The third term in this category, 'Potential', relates primarily,



through the usage of its exponents, si and sikari, to future events, though the predictions made by the speaker covering such future events are marked by attitudinal factors, that is by a greater or lesser degree of conviction that these events will occur.

Since the use of si and sikari is not limited to the expression of any one fixed degree of commitment, either strong or weak, their function as attitudinal indicators is best explained by reference to a scale divided according to the extent of commitment to which the speaker is ready to go when speaking of possible events, and ranging from weak to strong prediction. But since such a scale would be, in theory, infinitely gradeable and an unlimited number of divisions could be marked on it, beginning with an extremely weak probability value at one end and ending with a strong degree of necessity or inevitability at the other end, it is convenient to mark the imagined scale over three areas, divided according to weak, neutral and strong probability values connected with the predicted events. Clauses containing si and sikari would then be assigned one of these three values according to those contextual factors, linguistic or otherwise, which will be discussed in the following three sections. There it will be seen that the use of si is often comparable or identical with the use of be with a postpositional adjunct, for a prediction with a neutral probability value, or with

ye<sub>2</sub> for a prediction with a strong probability value, corresponding, in the degree of certainty or inevitability attached to it, to a command. The possibility of the substitution of si for both be with a postpositional adjunct and ye<sub>2</sub> in certain contexts tends to justify the establishment of a scale of values to which the use of si may be referred, since ye<sub>2</sub> and be with a postpositional adjunct are not linked in their function and are not, therefore, synonymous. That si is a stylistic variant for both ye<sub>2</sub> and the verbal complexes containing be is shown not only by the reaction of the main informant, who judged pairs of clauses containing them to be synonymous, but also by the frequent substitution of si for ye<sub>2</sub> or be and an accompanying verbal complex in identical contexts in the narratives, as will be shown.

#### 7.1.1. Weak Probability and the Use of si

The following citations may be quoted as an illustration of the use of si when the speaker wishes to indicate that there is involved in a prediction only a weak possibility that an event or set of events will occur:

ga. // n'íí ye féndoolu jé // í si ì  
 if+2s ind/cmpl thing see 2s pot/cmpl 3pl  
 pos/past some+pl.suff. pos

tombong // VbCl Type 1a with object NP and clause-  
 pick up introducer and VbCl Type 1a with  
 object NP.

'if you see some things, you could pick them up'

gb. // n'ii ye fëndoolu jé / / í si  
 if+2s ind/cmpl thing some+ see 2s pot/cmpl  
 pos/past pl.suff. pos

í tú jée // VbCl Type 1a with object NP  
 and clause-introducer and  
 3pl cause there VbCl Type 1a with object NP  
 become and adjunct of place.  
 left behind

'if you see some things, you could leave them there'

gc. // n'ii bó ta sàateo to / / níng  
 if+2s go out ind/cmpl village+ at if  
 pos/past det.

kónkoo y'ée mûta / / í si  
 hunger+ ind/cmpl catch 2s pot/cmpl  
 det. pos/past+2s pos

sèwusuboo dómo // VbCl Type 1b with clause-  
 introducer and adjunct of  
 pig meat+ eat place, VbCl Type 1a with  
 det. object NP and clause-  
 introducer and VbCl Type  
 1a with object NP.

'if you leave the village and become hungry,  
 you could eat pork'

gd. // nte mang féng jé nyíng dúniyaa /  
 1s ind/cmpl thing see this world  
 (intens) neg/past

/ nte mang móo jé nyíng dúniyaa /  
 1s ind/cmpl person see this world  
 (intens) neg/past

/ méng si nte fàa //  
 who pot/cmpl 1s cause die  
 pos (intens)

'I have seen in this world neither thing nor  
 person that could kill me'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjunct of place  
 (twice) and VbCl Type 1a with object NP.





Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and VbCl Type 3a with postpositional adjunct.

gg. // à s'aa síi / / à t'aa síi la //

3s pot/cmpl fit 3s not be+3s fit at  
pos+3s

'it will fit it, it won't fit it'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and VbCl Type 3a with postpositional adjunct.

gh. // n'aa fàa ta / / ng s'aa dundi

when+3s die ind/cmpl 1s pot/cmpl put in  
pos/past pos+3s

ng la `arijanoo le kono //

1s at heaven+ intens. inside  
det.

'when he dies I shall put him in my heaven'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with clause-introducer and VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjunct of place.

Immediately after (gh) in the narrative from which it was taken and as a repetition of the events predicted in (gh) was found:

gi. // n'aa fàa ta / / ng b'aa dundi

when+3s die ind/cmpl 1s be+3s put in  
pos/past

la ng la `arijanoo le kono //

at 1s at heaven+det.intens. inside

'when he dies I shall put him in my heaven'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with clause-introducer and VbCl Type 3a with postpositional adjunct and adjunct of place.

(gh) and (gi) indicate the extent of commutability in the use of si with a verb and the use of be with an accompanying

postpositional adjunct in some contexts.

gj. // n'íí y'èè sàmba n'g ye / / n'g  
           if+2s ind/cmpl carry 1s for 1s  
                     pos/past+3pl  
           si í la nyáamengo kàfu //  
           pot/cmpl 2s at eye maturity increase  
                     pos +det.  
           'if you bring them for me, I shall increase  
                     your wisdom.'<sup>1</sup>

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP, clause-introducer and adjunct and VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

### 7.1.3. Strong Probability and the Use of si

In marking a strong degree of conviction on the part of the speaker that an event or set of events is likely to happen the function of si overlaps into that of the operator ye<sub>2</sub> and the two operators become, in some contexts, interchangeable. This especially occurs in some dependent clauses, discussed in section 7.1.5., and in those clauses which are introduced by fó, which is probably to be identified with the clause-introducer fó, which marks the first in a set of disjunctive clauses; in this case the clause, which is potentially independent, containing fó would represent the first of a set of two

<sup>1</sup> nyáamengo 'wisdom', literally 'the maturity of the eye' (cf. méng 'grow up'), relates to the ability to discriminate which is acquired through the experience derived from observation.

clauses the second of which could optionally appear and would refer to a certain course of action threatened if the instructions given in the first clause were not carried out, as in:

gk. // fó í si tàa jée / / wárantó  
 either 2s pot/cmpl go there or  
 pos

ng b'ée bùutee la //

1s be+2s beat at

'you must go there or I shall beat you'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with clause-introducer and adjunct of place and VbCl Type 3a with clause-introducer and adjunct.

As illustrations of strong probability in clauses with or without the clause-introducer fó the following may be cited:

gl. // n'íí tàa ta / / í s'aa fó  
 if+2s go ind/cmpl 2s pot/cmpl say  
 pos/past pos/+3s  
 ng máari ye / / kó à si nte  
 1s master for that 3s pot/cmpl 1s  
 pos (intens)

fàa // VbCl Type 1b with clause-introducer,  
 cause die VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjunct,  
 and VbCl Type 1a with clause-introducer  
 and object NP.

'if you go, you must tell my master that I am  
 the one he must kill'

gm. // nyìng lúngo áli si nàa //  
 this day+det. 2pl pot/cmpl come  
 pos

'you must come on this day'

Structure: VbC1 Type 1a with adjunct of time.

gn. // fò í s'aa la wò nàafuloo  
 either 2s pot/cmpl at that wealth+det.  
 pos+3s  
 tàa à búlu / / à si sàyi  
 cause go 3s hand 3s pot/cmpl return  
 pos  
 fùwaareyaanyaa ma / / à s'aa la  
 poor man presence to 3s pot/cmpl at  
 way pos+3s  
 sáliwaatoolu sáli ì wáatoo la //  
 prayer time+ pray 3pl time+ at  
 det.+pl.suff. det.

'you must take that wealth of his from him and he must return to the way of poverty and pray the prayer-times at their required time'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP, clause-introducer and adjunct of place, VbCl Type 1a with adjunct of place and VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjunct of time.

go. // níng ná ng fáng fàndi /  
                   1s  
           when +ind/cmpl 1s self pretend to  
                   pos/past (reflx) die  
       / áli si níng kùu / / áli si  
           2pl pot/cmpl 1s wash 2pl pot/cmpl  
                   pos pos  
       ng kasankee // VbC1 Type 1a with object  
                           NP and clause-introducer  
       1s shroud and VbC1 Type 1a with  
                           object NP (twice).

'when I pretend that I am dead you must wash  
me and shroud me'



7.1.4. 'Habitative' Function of si

si, like the English modal auxiliary 'will', may combine with a verb to correlate with habitual activities or processes, such a function then overlapping into the function of the operator ka. But unlike the other usages associated with si, which relate to post-utterance events, the use of si with a verb in this case serves to relate to generalisations covering activities and processes which have validity up to the time of the utterance or to some point of time prior to the time of the utterance, a function comparable with that of ka with the verb (see section 6.0.):

gp.	//	níng	méng	nàa	ta	/	/	wò	si
		when	which	come	ind/cmpl			that	pot/cmpl
			one		pos/past				pos
		nàafuloo	díi	súnkutoofaanyolu	la	/			
		wealth+det.	give	girl+det. elder+	to				
				pl.suff.					
		súnkutoo	fánang	s'aa	fó	/	/	à	
		girl+det.	also	pot/cmpl	say			3s	
				pos +3s					
		ye	nyíng	kèo	kànu	le	//		
		ind/cmpl	this	man+det.	love	intens.			
		pos/past							

'whoever came, he would give the wealth to the girl's elders and the girl also would say that she had fallen in love with this man'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with clause-introducer, VbCl Type 1a with object NP and adjunct and VbCl Type 1a with object NP (twice).

gq. // níng Sùnjata y'aa kóo díi dèrong /  
 when Sunjata ind/cmpl back give only  
 pos/past+3s  
 / i s'aa jé / / Súmanguru ké  
 3pl pot/cmpl see Sumanguru come  
 pos+3s about  
 ta à nyaa ma kóteke //  
 ind/cmpl 3s way to again  
 pos/past

'Sunjata had only to turn his back and they  
 would see that Sumanguru had assumed his  
 real form again'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP, clause-introducer and modifier (dèrong), VbCl Type 1a with object NP and VbCl Type 1b with adjuncts of manner and time.

gr. // íte ye féng-o-feng lóng / / à  
 2s ind/cmpl thing thing know 3s  
 (intens) pos/past  
 si yelema à ti // VbCl Type 1a with  
 pot/cmpl change 3s with object NP and VbCl  
 pos Type 1a with adjunct.

'he would change into whatever you have knowledge  
 of'

gs. // d'indingofaa si d'indingobaa kili /  
 child father pot/cmpl child+det. summon  
 +det. pos mother  
 / à si nyèng kúmoo fó à ye //  
 3s pot/cmpl this speech+ say 3s for  
 pos det.

'the child's father will summon the child's mother  
and will say these words to her'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and VbCl Type 1a  
with object NP and adjunct.

Those factors covering degrees of commitment which have to be taken into account when explaining the other functions of si may also be of importance in accounting for this usage of si since continued observation of repeated events tends to reinforce the expectation that such events will recur or would have recurred, especially when a generalisation covers events which have extended up to the time of the utterance and may well be expected to extend into the future. In this case, although the usage relates to generalisations which cover events which extend to the time of the utterance or to some point prior to it, there would be present a strong expectation on the speakers part that there will be a recurrence of such an event, a projected event of a series which had already been observed. This would then serve to explain the use of si rather than its 'Habitative' counterpart, sikari, since one of the events in a series rather than the series itself was being described.

#### 7.1.5. Other Functions of si

Other functions of the operator si which are closely linked to its main usage and which require comment are connected with the appearance of the operator after

the clause-introducer fó 'in order that' and in clauses which follow an initial clause containing the verb lafi 'want':

gt. // lúntango    nàati    /    /    fó    à  
 guest+det. bring                      that    3s  
 si    dómoroo    ké // VbCl Type 2 with object  
 pot/cmpl eating+    cause    NP and VbCl Type 1a  
 pos            det.    come    with object NP and  
                          about    clause-introducer.

'bring the stranger so that he might eat'

gu. // à    taa    ta    déemoo    la    /    /    fó  
 3s    go    ind/cmpl hunting+    for            that  
           pos/past    det.  
 à    si    sùboo    fàa    // VbCl Type 1b  
    with adjunct  
 3s    pot/cmpl    game+    cause    of purpose  
           pos            det.    die    and VbCl Type 1a  
    with object NP  
    and clause-introducer.

'he went hunting to kill game'

gv. //    ng    lafi    ta    /    /    í    si    ng  
           1s    want    ind/cmpl            2s    pot/cmpl    1s  
                          pos/past                            pos  
 sàmba    /    /    fó    ng    si    ng    ming //  
 carry                            that    1s pot/cmpl reflx.  
    pos            drink

'I want you to carry me so that I can drink'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b, VbCl Type 1a with object NP and  
 VbCl Type 1a with object NP and clause-introducer.

Clauses following on from a clause which contains the verb lafi may be optionally introduced by either fó or

púru, which are loan-words from English and French respectively (cf. 'for' and 'pour').<sup>2</sup> The appearance of these items as clause-introducers would appear to be evidence of a movement away from the simpler, paratactical organisation of a sequence of clauses to a more complex grouping of clauses:

gw.	//	ńg	làfi	ta	/	/	fó	í	si
		1s	want	ind/cmpl			for	2s	pot/cmpl
				pos/past					pos
		ńg	la	nyáamengo			káfu	//	
		1s	at	eye maturity+			increase		
				det.					

'I want you to increase my wisdom'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b and VbCl Type 1a with object NP and clause-introducer.

gx.	//	Sáng	làfi	ta	/	/	púru	Súluu
		Hare	want	ind/cmpl			for	Hyena
				pos/past				
		si	bòyi	dímbaa			kóno	//
		pot/cmpl	fall	fire			inside	
			pos					

'Hare wanted Hyena to fall into the fire'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b and VbCl Type 1a with clause-introducer and adjunct of place.

The operator ye<sub>2</sub> serves as a free variant for si in those environments where si occurs in a clause after làfi:

<sup>2</sup> The clause-introducers do not therefore constitute a closed set of items in the language. A third loan into this set is bikos 'because', which may serve as a variant for the more common káatu.

gy. // ng lafi ta / / i ye nyiing  
 1s want ind/cmpl 2s inj/cmpl this  
 pos/past pos  
 fó ng ye // VbCl Type 1b and VbCl Type  
 say 1s for 1a with object NP and  
 adjunct.

'I want you to tell me this'

gz. // i lafi ta / / ng'ee la  
 2s want ind/cmpl 1s+inj/cmpl at  
 pos/past pos+2s  
 nyaamengo kafu // VbCl Type 1b and VbCl  
 eye maturity+ increase Type 1a with object NP.  
 det.

'you want me to increase your wisdom'

That ye<sub>2</sub> serves in such contexts as a free variant for si and does not reflect a more abrupt form of request is indicated by (gz), which, in the narrative from which it was taken, is a direct response to (gw).

## 7.2. 'Injunctive' Operators

In (potentially) independent clauses the operators with the exponential value of 'Injunctive' combine with the verb to mark an instruction to, or a prohibition against, the type of behaviour described by the verb. (Aspectual distinctions within this set of operators were discussed in sections 5.1.2. and 5.2.2.)

gaa. // nga bamboo faa // VbCl Type 1a with  
 1pl+ crocodile+ cause object NP.  
 inj/cmpl/pos +det. die

'let us kill the crocodile'

gab. // d'indingolu ye tú sú kóno //

child+det.+ inj/cmpl remain compound+ inside  
pl.suff. pos det.

'the children are to remain in the compound'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with adjunct of place.

gac. // í kana kúu k'ée la // VbCl Type 1a  
2s inj/cmpl affair cause to with object NP  
neg come about+ and adjunct.  
3pl

'you are not to do anything to them'

gad. // í kaakari í la búndaa yéle  
2s inj/hab 2s at house open  
neg opening

sùutoo // VbCl Type 1a with object NP and  
adjunct of time.  
night+det.

'don't keep opening your door at night'

As noted in section 7.1.3., fó combines with either of the operators si or ye<sub>2</sub> and the verb to mark a forceful instruction:

gae. // fó í ye tàa wò sìladoo la //

either 2s inj/cmpl go that road other on  
pos

'you must go by that other road'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with clause-introducer and adjunct of place.

gaf. // fó í ye tàa kàrandulaa //

either 2s inj/cmpl go read place  
pos

'you must go to school'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with adjunct and clause-introducer.



### 7.2.1. ye in Clauses Introduced by fó and jànnìng

Among the other functions of ye<sub>2</sub> to be mentioned are its appearances in clauses introduced by fó 'until' and jànnìng 'before' (cf. use of ka or be and adjunct with jànnìng discussed in sections 5.2.1.1. and 5.3.1.). In such contexts the exponential value of 'Injunctive' is not present:

gag. // ì ka nìnsoolu tálaa wò le  
 3pl ind/hab cow+det.+ divide that intens.  
 pos/non-fut pl.suff.  
 nyáa / / hànì fó à bée ye  
 way even until 3s all compl/  
 pos  
 báng // VbCl Type 1a with object NP and  
 adjunct of manner and VbCl Type  
 finish 1a with clause-introducer and hànì.  
 'that is the way they divide the cows until it  
 is all finished'

gah. // mòo ka séefuyaa ké / /  
 person ind/hab chief cause  
 pos/non-fut presence come about  
 hànì fó à ye fàa //  
 even until 3s compl/pos die  
 'the person usually carries out the duties of  
 the chieftainship until he dies'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with object NP and VbCl Type 1a with clause-introducer and hànì.

gai. // jànn'ii ye tàa / / í si  
 before+2s cmpl/ go 2s pot/cmpl  
 pos pos  
 kèebaalu bùunyaa // VbCl Type 1a with  
 man great+ entertain clause-introducer  
 pl.suff. and VbCl Type 1a  
 with object NP.

'you must entertain the elders before you go'

The time-scheme which is relevant for the sequence of events described in sentences (gag) and (gah) differs slightly from the one relevant for those clauses which are introduced by fó but contain one of the operators ye, ta or mang, linked by the exponential values of 'Past' and 'Completive', and which were considered in section 6.1.2. The reference in (gag) and (gah) is to a sequence of two events, so that the time relationships can be schematised as

$t_1 \dots \dots \dots t_2$

where the event specified in the clause introduced by fó occurs at  $t_2$ . But whereas the clauses introduced by fó in section 6.1.2. referred to specific pre-utterance events, the dependent clauses in (gag) and (gah) relate rather to indefinite events which cannot be specifically located with reference to the 'now' underlying the time of the utterance itself.

## Chapter Eight

### Conjunctive Functions of ye and ka

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## Chapter Eight

### Conjunctive Functions of ye and ka

#### 8.0. Introductory

In this chapter are considered the conjunctive roles of ye and ka in serving as substitute forms for other operators and some Type (y) verbs.

#### 8.1. Conjunctive Function of ye

The operator ye<sub>2</sub> has the derived function of acting as a conjunctive operator which links parts of a sequence of clauses which have in common a single, underlying 'theme' of Tense, Mood, Aspect or Polarity. In such a usage a string of clauses for which identical exponential values should be assigned from the category-terms set up to account for the function of the operators or some of the Type (y) verbs is interrupted by a clause containing not the expected operator but the operator ye<sub>2</sub>. From the contextual situation set up both by the linguistic features of the preceding clause(s) and by extra-linguistic factors it is evident that there is no confusion which might arise out of identifying ye in this environment with either ye<sub>1</sub> or with the 'Injunctive' use of ye<sub>2</sub> since ye, as an operator with the value of conjunction, is found both with and without an accompanying object nominal phrase, unlike ye<sub>1</sub>,

which invariably precedes an object nominal phrase, and it does not serve solely as an exponent of the terms which are applicable in the description of ye<sub>2</sub>.

The general conditions in which ye may be substituted for another operator or the verbs be and te when these are part of a verbal complex may be set out as follows:

$$C(M_a) \dots (C(M_a)) \dots C(M_{\underline{ye}}) \dots (C(M_{\underline{ye}})) \dots (C(M_a))$$

where 'C' is a symbol for a clause from which have been extracted the exponential values realised by an operator or be and te, 'M' relates to the modality, tense, aspectual and polarity features and 'a' to the realisation of these features by a particular operator or be and te. The formula then indicates that in any sequence of two or more clauses for which identical exponential values are to be assigned the operator ye may be substituted as an exponent of these values in the second and subsequent clauses and that the operator found in the first clause in the string of clauses may then optionally re-appear towards the end of such a string.

It is clear that the initial clause in a series of clauses in which ye has a conjunctive function must, through the operator contained in it, signal the category-terms common to the whole series before ye can be employed in a second or subsequent clause. The function of ye, then, in this case is to replicate the exponential values of

the original operator without the requirement of repeating it. This factor makes the introduction of ye into a string of clauses a matter of the speaker's choice rather than a feature to be predicted by a set of rules. The formula set out above, then, indicates the conditions in which ye may be used but cannot predict that it will invariably be found in such an environment.

Also connected with the speaker's choice rather than with the predictive force of a set of grammatical rules is the fact that within a string of 'operator-comparable' clauses ye may replicate the exponential value of the operator in the first clause at any point within the series after the first clause and in turn be substituted by the original operator after any number of appearances above one. Its use is, then, idiosyncratic to the speaker in the sense that he determines its employment or not and not predictable in the sense that its inclusion or exclusion cannot be accounted for by a set of rules.

ye is not restricted to serving as a substitute for one sub-set of operators which have similar exponential values in serving as exponents of one or two identical category-terms but is substitutable for all the operators in the conditions described and has the further function of being substitutable for be or te if these are combined with postpositional adjuncts in the verbal complexes described in section 4.2.4.7. (In substituting for be or

te within a clause, ye combines with a verb and not with a postpositional adjunct.)

The following citations indicate the way in which ye acts as a conjunctive operator, its function being marked by the abbreviation '(conj)':

ha. // níng à be fínti la / / à ye  
if 3s be go out at 3s ind/cmpl  
pos/past

Àlkuraanooyoo	kàrang	/	/	bèrekonkoo
Koran+det. verse+ det.	read			hill+det.

ye táwung / / ì ye múru kóteke //

(conj) close 3pl (conj) return again

'if he was going out, he read the verse from the Koran, the hill closed up and they returned'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with clause-introducer and adjunct,  
VbCl Type 1a with object NP, VbCl Type 1a and  
VbCl Type 1a with adjunct of time.

(Conjunctive ye substitutes for ye<sub>1</sub> in the second and third clauses of a three-clause string.)

hb. // í te nǵ máakoyi la / / í  
2s not be 1s help at 2s  
y'aà kára nǵ ye bàng? //

(conj)+3s sew 1s for question-  
marker

'won't you help me and sew it up for me?'

Structure: VbCl Type 3a with adjunct and VbCl Type 1a with object NP, adjunct and question-marker.

(Conjunctive ye substitutes for te in the second clause.)



hc. // duntunkumoo àte ka wuli / / à  
 cock-crow+ 3s ind/hab get up 3s  
 det. (intens)pos/non-fut  
 ka tàa jée / / à ka dúng  
 ind/hab go there 3s ind/hab enter  
 pos/non-fut pos/non-fut  
 ninsoo kóno / / à ka sùboo  
 cow+det. inside 3s ind/hab meat+det.  
 pos/non-fut  
 kuntu / / à ye náa / / à y'aa  
 cut 3s (conj) come 3s (conj)+3s  
 tábi. // VbCl Type 1a with adjunct of time, VbCl  
 Type 1a with adjunct of place, VbCl  
 cook Type 1a with adjunct of place, VbCl  
 Type 1a with object NP, VbCl Type 1a  
 and VbCl Type 1a with object NP.

'at cock-crow he used to get up, go there, get

inside the cow, cut the meat, come back and cook it'

(Conjunctive ye substitutes for ka in the final two clauses of a six-clause string.)

hd. // ñg ka à ké kùlungo le kóno /  
 1pl ind/hab 3s cause mortar+ intens.  
 pos/non-fut come about det. inside  
 / mūsoolu ye lòo à la / / ì  
 woman+det.+ (conj) stand 3s at 3pl  
 pl.suff.  
 ka à túu // VbCl Type 1a with object  
 ind/hab 3s pound VbCl Type 1a with adjunct  
 pos/non-fut of place and VbCl Type 1a  
 with object NP.

'we usually put it into a mortar, the women stand  
 around it and they pound it'

(Conjunctive ye substitutes for ka in the second of a three-clause string.)

he. // b̥utung minango si f̥inti nyáamoo  
now then deer+det. pot/cmpl go out grass+det.  
pos

hg. // ng be tàa la / / nga kúolu  
 1s be go at 1s+(conj) affair+  
 det.+  
 pl.suff.

ké // VbCl Type 3a with adjunct and  
 VbCl Type 1a with object NP.  
 cause come  
 about

'I shall go and do things'

(Conjunctive ye substitutes for be in the second of two clauses.)

It can be seen from the above citations that where the operator or verb which signals the modality, tense, aspectual and polarity features differs in form from ye there is little difficulty in recognising the conjunctive function of ye. Confusion need not arise in the case of the identification of the conjunctive use of ye and the use of ye<sub>1</sub> since, as in (ha), they are distinguishable on syntactic criteria, ye<sub>1</sub> only appearing with a following object nominal phrase. It is more difficult, however, to distinguish between the conjunctive and injunctive functions of ye when these might possibly be found in a series of clauses which are linked by an underlying theme of 'Completive', 'Injunctive' and 'Positive' values of exponency:

hh. // í la sînsingo tàa / / í ye  
 2s at basket+det. cause go 2s -  
 támbi // VbCl Type 2 with object NP and  
 pass by VbCl Type 1a.

'take your basket and pass on!'

hi. // nɛ̃'aa bóndi / / nɛ̃'aa sàmba  
 1pl+inj/cmpl remove - carry  
 pos+3s

súo kóno // VbCl Type 1a with object NP  
 and VbCl Type 1a with object  
 compound+ inside NP and adjunct of place.  
 det.

'let us remove it and take it to the compound'

of/ In both (hh) and (hi) an initial injunctive clause is followed by a clause containing a use of the operator ye which can be interpreted as being either injunctive or conjunctive in character. Although it would seem to be more economical to avoid the suggestion that the operator in the second clause replicates the exponential values the operator in the first clause if such operators are homonyms, as in (hi), there does seem some justification for treating the appearance of ye in clauses such as (hh) as being conjunctive in character. In the case of the operator ye being present in a clause which immediately follows an operator-free injunctive clause ye appears to serve as an explicit exponent of those category-terms which are only implicit in the previous clause, that is the terms 'Injunctive', 'Completive' and 'Positive'.

## 8.2. Conjunctive Function of ka

Similar in function to ye, but differing somewhat in its distribution from it, is the item ka in its

conjunctive role. This 'ka' is perhaps not to be identified with the operator ka but with the element which links with a verb but not a subject nominal phrase and whose distribution was noted in section 4.3., on non-finite forms of the verb. It differs from ye in that it seems mainly to replicate the functions of the operators ye<sub>1</sub> and ta and is only found where the subject nominal phrases throughout the string of clauses have the same referent. This latter condition is necessary since there is no subject nominal phrase pre-posed to ka in its conjunctive role.

Within the corpus ka is restricted to stories and then when, in addition to the above conditions for its presence being met, there is a further 'dramatic' element present. More so than ye then, it seems to belong to the stylistics of dramatic narrative. Its conjunctive role can be indicated by the following citations:

hj. // à lòo ta wò singo la / /  
 3s stand ind/cmpl that leg+det. at  
 pos/past  
 ka à singo sèyi / / ka à kuntu //  
 - 3s leg+det. chop - 3s cut  
 'he stood at that leg, chopped his leg and cut  
 it off'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b with adjunct of place and two clauses introduced by ka with object NP.

(Clauses introduced by ka in this conjunctive function are not common in the corpus and occur in stateable

environments. Because of their marginal status and their distribution solely as dependent clauses they were not assigned a separate classification among the clause types set up in section 3.1.2. and will be referred to here as 'clauses introduced by ka'. Such clauses may contain the optional presence of an object nominal phrase and adjuncts.)

hk. // i ye Súluu kuntu / / ka Súluu  
 3pl ind/cmpl Hyena cut - Hyena  
 pos/past

sèyinseying fàngo la / / ka à  
 chop chop machet+ with - 3s  
 det.

kùngo tèe // VbC1 Type 1a with object NP,  
 head+ shatter clause introduced by ka with  
 det. object NP and adjunct, and clause  
 introduced by ka with object NP.

'they cut up Hyena, chopped him into pieces with  
 the machet and shattered his head'

hl. // à nyápi ta Súluu káng / / ka  
 3s fall ind/cmpl Hyena upon -  
 upon pos/past  
 à bùutee / / ka à bùutee / / ka  
 3s beat - 3s beat -  
 Súluubaloo bée ké múnkoo ti //  
 Hyena body+ all cause powder+ as  
 det. come about det.

'he fell upon Hyena and beat him and beat him  
 and made his body into powder'

Structure: VbC1 Type 1b with adjunct of place, two clauses introduced by ka with object NP and clause introduced by ka with object NP and adjunct.



hm. // fáa nàa ta / / à y'aa jìibee /  
 father come ind/cmpl 3s ind/cmpl examine  
 pos/past pos/past+3s  
 / ka Súluu m̀uta / / ka nying  
 - Hyena catch - this  
 jìikandibaakatango ké nying bàarakabaa  
 water hot very much+ cause this barrel large  
 det. come about  
 kóno / / ka Súluu m̀uta / / ka Súluu  
 inside - Hyena catch - Hyena  
 b̀ula jìikandoo kóno / / ka à fàa //  
 cause water hot+ inside - 3s cause  
 become placed det. die

'the father came, looked at it, caught hold of  
 Hyena, put this enormous amount of scalding-hot  
 water into this large barrel, grabbed Hyena, put him  
 inside the hot water and killed him'

Structure: VbCl Type 1b, VbCl Type 1a with object NP,  
 clause introduced by ka with object NP, clause  
 introduced by ka with object NP and adjunct of  
 place, clause introduced by ka with object NP,  
 clause introduced by ka with object NP and  
 adjunct of place and clause introduced by ka  
 with object NP.

### 8.3. Comparison of Conjunctive Roles

The phenomenon of conjunction replacement within  
 a series of clauses by ye or ka just described is in  
 many respects similar to that which occurs in some  
 Indo-European languages, noted and discussed by Kiparsky



(1968:30-57). Comment is required on this.

The employment of the operator ye, which has the independent function of serving as an exponent of the category-term 'Injunctive', in its derived, conjunctive role in replicating the values already expressed by a morphologically different unit in the initial clause of a series closely parallels the use of the injunctive in conjunction reduction in Vedic and Greek (Kiparsky, 1968: 35-41). It differs from this usage, however, in two respects: firstly, not only modality and tense, but also aspectual and polarity functions may be replicated by ye in its conjunctive role; secondly, 'Injunctive' is an integral and established part of the modality system in Mandinka.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, it is not clear how, if syntactic 'markedness' is to be adduced to account for the appearance of a certain operator (in Mandinka) or certain inflexions (in the Indo-European languages), ye, in its independent function as, among other things, an exponent of the category-term 'Injunctive', may be described as being 'less marked' than those operators, such as ye<sub>1</sub> and ta, which serve as exponents of, among other values, the term

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<sup>1</sup> Kiparsky (1968:37) characterizes the remnants of the injunctive in its attested forms in Indo-European as 'morphological debris'.

'Indicative'.<sup>2</sup>

The appearance of ka with a verb, however, to replicate the exponential values of a limited number of operators is similar to the use of the infinitive as a conjunctive form in Indo-European (Kiparsky, 1968:51-54), and its lack of marking for any of the exponential values carried by the operators makes it a suitable 'zero-form' for such a role, provided the values which are applicable to the string of clauses have been signalled in an earlier clause.

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<sup>2</sup> Within the purely synchronic limits imposed by the study itself and the nature of the available material, if the 'ye' which appears as a conjunctive form is to be linked with any operator, it must be with ye<sub>2</sub> since it has the same syntactic possibilities of occurring with or without an object nominal phrase, unlike ye<sub>1</sub>, which only combines with an object nominal phrase. But in view of the idiosyncratic distribution of ta as a post-verbal item rather than a pre-verbal item (all the other operators appear pre-verbally) it is possible that ye<sub>1</sub> might have had a fuller distribution, both with and without an object nominal phrase, at an earlier stage of the language. The appearance of ta would then have served to reduce the possibility of ambiguity produced by the two functionally discrete 'ye' forms. If this were so, the role of ye as a conjunctive operator might well be linked with ye<sub>1</sub>, with its 'zero' or 'unmarked' values of 'Indicative' and 'Completive' and its frequency in simple narratives.

## Appendices

Appendix A

Table of Verbs

Appendix ATable of Verbs

The verbs tabulated in this appendix have been taken from the recorded texts of the main informant. They are arranged in alphabetical order with the exception that those verbs with initial 'ng' and 'ny' in the orthography, since these are digraphs which represent the single phonemes /ŋ/ and /ɲ/ respectively (see section 2.4.), have been extracted and form two groups in their own right, following on from the group of verbs with initial orthographic 'n' and following vowel. They are classified as verbs from Class I, II or III according to the criteria adopted in section 4.2.2.3. or as Type y verbs according to the criteria noted in section 4.2.4. and although such a classification is based on the information given by the main informant, texts provided by other informants have been checked to ensure that any categorisation assigned to a verb would be similarly applicable to the same verb when used by these other informants.<sup>1</sup> Verbs given a dual

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<sup>1</sup> The distribution of a number of common verbs found in three groups of texts recorded by three informants is examined in Appendix B.



classification, like bòri 'run', dàhaa 'rest', jèle 'laugh (at)', mára 'rule' and sáli 'pray', are discussed in section 4.2.2.3.

An attempt has been made, where possible, to translate the Class II verbs by a similarly single lexical item in English and so retain the equivalence in this part of the verbal system found in the two languages, as báng 'finish', bèng 'assemble', bòng 'pour' etc.; but since such verbs are more common as a class in Mandinka than in English, where a word-for-word translation is not available the Mandinka verb is translated by an English verb, generally intransitive, preceded by a bracketed 'cause' to indicate the causative character of the transitivity function of the particular verb, as fàa '(cause) die', jàakali '(cause) become confused' and ké '(cause) come about'. Verbs overtly marked as causatives by the presence of the suffix -(n)di (see section 4.2.2.2.) follow immediately after the verbs from which they are derived, as are any reduplicated verbs (*ibid.*).<sup>2</sup>

Compound verbs are analysed into their constituent parts in the footnotes and the stative verbs (section 6.1.3.) are differentiated from the non-statives by

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<sup>2</sup> The -(n)di suffixed verbs are translated as 'cause..' without brackets as the feature of causation is overtly marked in their case.

being translated by 'be' with a following adjective, past participle or nominal phrase, as bámbang 'be strong', béteyaa 'be good', ngóji 'be bent' and kíling 'be the same'.

Verbs which were noted as loan-words are listed here along with their source. The list does not aim at exhaustiveness but offers a general indication of the areas in which European and Arabic influences have been important. As it is not always possible, on criteria of form alone, to determine the source of a word of ultimately Latin origin, since this might have been borrowed through either French or Portuguese, both of which have been in use in the area for a considerable period,<sup>3</sup> both the French and the Portuguese equivalents are cited if there is a possibility that the loan-word might have come through either language.

Loans from English noted were:

bùluu 'be blue'

kéri 'be green'

céke 'check'

pòosee 'post'

èlek 'elect'

sàmani 'summons'

gaarantii 'be solid'

típa 'roof' (cf. 'tip').

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<sup>3</sup> The Portuguese reached the mouth of the Senegal and Cape Verde in 1444-5 (Fage, 1969:51) and by 1530 English and French merchants were trading along the West African coast (ibid., page 56). At the present time English, French and Portuguese are common as second languages throughout West Africa.



kónti 'count out' (cf. French compter and Portuguese contar) and kúmandi 'command' (cf. French commander and Portuguese comandar) may be loans through English, French or Portuguese.

The following are French loans:

<u>Mandinka</u>	<u>French</u>
<u>álamaani</u> 'impose a fine on'	amende
<u>gányee</u> 'win'	gagner
<u>kórisele</u> 'close with a bolt'	corser
<u>lúwaasi</u> 'hire'	louer
<u>páasuwaari</u> 'sift'	passoire

Loans which might plausibly be regarded as from French or Portuguese were:

<u>Mandinka</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Portuguese</u>
<u>fórisee</u> 'force' <sup>4</sup>	forcer	forçar
<u>kóntinee</u> 'continue'	continuer	continuar
<u>kúmaasi</u> 'begin'	commencer	començar
<u>pàree</u> 'prepare'	préparer	preparar
<u>péesa</u> 'weigh'	peser	pesar
<u>píriyu</u> 'become confused'	pirouetter	piruetar

The loans from the European languages reflect the impact of trade (shown by kónti, lúwaasi and péesa) and

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<sup>4</sup> The presence of intervocalic /r/ in the Mandinka verb argues against English origin.

administration (shown by èlek, pòosee, sàmani, kúmandi, àlamaani and fórisee) on the Mandinka people. Arabic influence has been more pervasive, especially in the field of religion and those areas of the culture which are directly affected by religion, such as social organisation, morals and the training required to read and comment on the sacred texts.<sup>5</sup> Loan-words from Arabic recorded in the corpus clearly indicate the effect of Islam on the Mandinka people and their language:<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Arab contact and the originally nominal Islamisation which followed it in parts of West Africa preceded by almost four centuries the arrival of the Portuguese (Fage, 1969:18-19) and was more effective in that it spread from the centres of the great West African empires rather than operating on their coastal fringes, as European contact did. The influence of Islam has extended to the present day and is seen in the large number of Koranic schools which, in The Gambia, exist side by side with the State-run schools and are often in competition with them.

<sup>6</sup> I am very much indebted to Mr. B. Ingham of the Department of Linguistics at S.O.A.S. for the help given in identifying the loans from Arabic and for providing a phonemic transcription for the Arabic words. This transcription is based on the I.P.A. symbolisation. A subscript dot, '.', indicates velarisation or pharyngealisation of the consonant under which it is found and length is indicated by doubling the vowel or consonant symbol. The Arabic words are quoted in their 'citation' form rather than in the consonant root-form.

<u>Mandinka</u>	<u>Arabic</u>
<u>àlamani</u> 'offer in marriage'	/Salaama/ - sign, token <sup>7</sup>
<u>bàraka</u> 'become favoured of God'	/baraka/ - blessing
<u>dàraja</u> 'become popular'	/daraja/ - degree, rank
<u>dúwaa</u> 'pray'	/duŋaa/ - pray
<u>fàsari</u> 'translate'	/fassar/ - he explained, he commented on
<u>fùtuu</u> 'marry'	/Xutuuba/ - betrothal, engagement
<u>hàlakii</u> 'punish'	/halaak/ - ruin, perdition
<u>hàmme</u> '(cause) become ambitious'	/haamm/ - important or /himma/ - resolution or /hamm/ - concern, worry
<u>hàramu</u> '(cause) become banned'	/haraam/ - forbidden (by religion)
<u>jàabi</u> 'answer'	/jawaab/ - answer, recompense
<u>jàburu</u> 'confess'	/jabr/ - compulsion
<u>kàbari</u> 'lift hands in prayer'	/kabbar/ - he said '/Allahu akbar/' i.e. 'God is great'
<u>kàrafa</u> 'entrust'	/kallaf/ - he charged another with an affair
<u>kàrang</u> 'read'	/qaraʔ/ - he read, he recited

<sup>7</sup> The Mandinka verb then means 'give a sign' (cf. nii 'give') in the mosque to show willingness to offer one's daughter in marriage.

<u>kāsabi</u> 'count'	/kasab/ - he acquired a profit
<u>kibaari</u> 'inform'	/xabar/ - news
<u>maālaa</u> 'sway'	/maal/ - he/it inclined
<u>naasi</u> 'diminish'	/naqas/ - it became deficient
<u>saabang</u> 'race'	/saabaq/- he raced with
<u>sabari</u> 'pause'	/sabar/ - he waited
<u>sādaa</u> 'give alms to'	/sadaqa/- alms
<u>safee</u> 'write'	/safha/ - page
<u>sali</u> 'pray'	/salla/ - he prayed
<u>sōbi</u> 'suspect'	/ʃubha/ - suspicious
<u>sūjutu</u> 'bow'	/sujuud/- bowing, prostration
<u>sūng</u> 'fast'	/sawm/ - fasting
	or /soom/ - fasting
<u>sutura</u> '(cause) become secret'	/sutuur/- veil
<u>tābi</u> 'cook'	/tabax/ - he cooked
<u>tūubi</u> 'become converted'	/tawba/ - repentance
<u>wādani</u> 'call for prayers'	/ʔaʔʔan/- he called for prayer
<u>wuluu</u> '(cause) become born'	/wuluud/- birth
<u>yaamari</u> 'advise'	/yaʔmur/- he orders
	or /yaamur/- he orders
<u>yāmfa</u> 'forgive'	/yaʔfuu/- he forgives

This attempt to identify the possible loans into Mandinka is an informal one and consideration has been given solely to a relative morphological and semantic congruity between compared items. Certain problems, not dealt with here, arise out of an examination of the postulated loans from Arabic, such as the type of Arabic which might have provided the source for the loans and the word-class membership of the Arabic item borrowed, since, on the basis of the relative identity of items compared in the list, either nominals or even sections of the verbal paradigm from Arabic would appear to have been incorporated in toto as verbs into Mandinka. In addition, any influence from other African languages spoken in the area, such as Woloff or Fula, has not been investigated.

As a final group of verbs listed in the following table and requiring comment here are the phonaesthetic verbs, many of which do not follow the usual syllabic patterning applicable to other items in the language (cf. sections 2.5. and 4.2.2.1.):

féress 'graze lightly'

kúcukucu 'move around'

férfer 'whistle at'

pèmpeng 'nail'

fírifati 'flap, beat'

pétu 'chop'

kòokolee 'crow'

Table of Verbs

àlamaani	-	impose a fine on	I
àlamani	-	offer in marriage <sup>1</sup>	I
baadee	-	bury	I
baara	-	work at	I
bàjonki	-	migrate	III
bàlafaa <sup>2</sup>	-	(cause) pity	II
bàlang	-	refuse	III
bàli	-	prevent	I
bàluu	-	live	III
bàlundi	-	cause to live, support	I
bàmbang	-	be strong	III
bàmbandi	-	cause to be strong, emphasise	I
bàmpu	-	carry on the back <sup>3</sup>	I
bàng <sup>4</sup>	-	refuse	Type y
bàng	-	refuse	I (Ref)
bàng	-	finish, end	II
bànnayaa	-	become rich	III

<sup>1</sup> In the special circumstances of an announcement at the mosque.    <sup>2</sup> cf. bàla 'body' and fàa 'fill'.

<sup>3</sup> Used of carrying a child on the back.

<sup>4</sup> Section 4.2.4.4.



bá'ara	-	rush	III
bárandi	-	startle	I
bá'araka	-	become favoured of God	III
bà'rama	-	(cause) become wounded	II
bà'taa	-	tire, become weary	III
bà'tandi	-	tire, vex	I
bà'tu	-	wait for, wait upon	I
bà'yi	-	postpone	I
bá'yi	-	chase	I
be <sup>5</sup>	-	(locational) be	Type y
bèndung	-	intercept	I
bèng	-	assemble	II
bèndi	-	assemble	I
béteyaa <sup>6</sup>	-	be good	III
bíi	-	draw, pull	I
bíndee	-	hoe	I
bíring <sup>7</sup>	-	come from	Type y
bitayyaa	-	show respect to <sup>8</sup>	I
bíti	-	(cause) become covered	II
bó	-	(cause) go out	II
bóndi	-	remove, extract	I

<sup>5</sup> Section 4.2.4.7.      <sup>6</sup> cf. béte 'good' and yaa 'presence'

<sup>7</sup> Section 4.2.4.6.      <sup>8</sup> By carrying out the duties and obligations required of a (prospective) husband to his (future) wife's family (cf. bitang 'wife's relative').



bòloo	-	be innocent	III
bòng	-	pour	II
bóno	-	become deprived	III
bóri	-	run	III & I (Ref)
bòrindi	-	cause to run	I
bòrimboring	-	run around	III
bóring	-	throw down	I
bòsi	-	peel	II
bòyi	-	(cause) fall	II
bòyindi	-	fell	I
bùla	-	(cause) become placed	II
bùlandi	-	put	I
bùluu	-	be blue	III
búng	-	shoot, sting	I
búruburu	-	subside	III
búruka	-	dissolve <sup>9</sup>	II
búsa	-	thresh	I
bùsandi	-	(cause) fall	II
búsuu	-	skin	I
bùunyaa	-	entertain	I
búusi	-	snatch	I
bùutee	-	beat	I

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<sup>9</sup> Of writing chalked onto a slate.

cáng	-	become stranded	III
cànsu	-	snatch	I
céke	-	check	I
cóodi	-	aim	I
dáa	-	make, weave	I
dáakaa	-	stay in a place	III
dáani	-	beg	I
dàasaama	-	breakfast	I
dáasoo <sup>10</sup>	-	pierce the mouth of	I
dádaa	-	build up	II
dádaakung <sup>11</sup>	-	build up properly	II
dàhaa	-	rest	III & I (Ref)
dahandi	-	rest, relieve	I
dáli	-	become used to	III
dálinđi	-	habituate	I
dámfu	-	kick	I
dándang	-	accompany	I
dándarilaa	-	warn	I
dàng	-	(cause) lag behind	II
dánkeneyaa	-	become certain, become convinced	III
dàнку	-	answer	I
dántee	-	explain	I

<sup>10</sup> cf. dáa 'mouth' and sóo 'burst by piercing'. Tattooing of the lips is common among Mandinka women.

<sup>11</sup> cf. dádaa and kúng 'fit, agree'.

dàraja	-	become popular	III
dása	-	fail	II
dáti	-	begin	II
débe	-	plait	II
dèe	-	silence	I (Ref)
dèndi	-	silence	I
déema	-	help	I
dèerandi	-	smooth	I
dènde	-	hide	III
déng	-	hang	II
déte	-	bind	I
dèwung	-	(cause) become perplexed	II
dèwundi	-	perplex	I
dii	-	give	I
diinong	-	be deep	III
díming	-	pain, hurt	I
díng	-	flower, fruit <sup>12</sup>	III
díyaa	-	(cause) be pleasant	II
díyaajawu <sup>13</sup>	-	be awfully pleasant	III
díyamu	-	speak	III
díyamundi	-	cause to speak	I
dómo	-	eat	I

<sup>12</sup> Of trees and flowers and plants other than the grain-bearing crops (cf. wúluu '(cause) become born').

<sup>13</sup> cf. díyaa and jáwu 'be bad'.

dòng	-	dance	I (Ref)
dòndi	-	cause to dance	I
dónto	-	give credit to	I
dòokuu	-	work at	I
dòokundi	-	cause to work	I
dóro	-	stir	II
dòyaa	-	(cause) be small	II
dòyandi	-	belittle	I
dúku	-	bribe	I
dùng	-	put on	I
dùng	-	enter	III
dùndi	-	put in	I
dúu	-	become exciting	III
dúwaa	-	pray	III
elek	-	elect	I
fàa	-	(cause) die	II
fàndi	-	pretend to die	I
fáa	-	fill	II
fándi	-	fill	I
fáama	-	take a long time	III
faju	-	boil	III
fajundi	-	boil	I
fàling	-	change	II
fànu	-	be wide	III

fá'ara	-	tear, rip	II
fáramfarang	-	tear into pieces	I
fásari	-	translate	I
fata	-	separate, differ	II
fátiyaa	-	be strong	III
fáyi	-	throw	I
fée	-	blow, winnow	I
féenee	-	spread	I
féetoofata	-	clothe	I
féle	-	look at <sup>14</sup>	I
féress	-	graze lightly	I
férfer	-	whistle at	I
feteng	-	burst	II
feyaa	-	be easy	III
féyandi	-	make easy	I
fiifi	-	lose the way	III
fiiri	-	trade in	I
fili	-	(cause) 'go astray	II
filindi	-	make to lose the way	I
fimfi	-	overeat	III
fing	-	(cause) be black	II
fínja	-	fan	I
finki	-	become blind	III

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<sup>14</sup> Of objects close at hand to the perceiver (cf. háyina 'look at').

fínti <sup>15</sup>	-	go out	III
fíntindi <sup>16</sup>	-	take out, remove	I
fíri	-	flower	III
fírifati	-	flap, beat	I
firing	-	untie	II
fisiyaa	-	be good	III
fisiyandi	-	make better	I
fíta	-	sweep	I
fó	-	say	I
fóloo	-	begin	II
fonyo	-	rest	I (Ref)
fonyondi	-	cause to rest	I
fóo	-	miss, fail	III
fóonoo	-	vomit	III
fórisee	-	force	I
fóyaa	-	be soft	III
fúlanjang <sup>17</sup>	-	repeat	II
fúta	-	arrive	III
fútandi	-	cause to arrive	I
fútuu <sup>18</sup>	-	marry	II
fúu	-	lend	I

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<sup>15</sup> Also fúnti (cf. section 2.1.). <sup>16</sup> Also fúntindi.

<sup>17</sup> cf. fúlanjang 'second'.

<sup>18</sup> Where an object NP is present it specifies the woman being married and the man is specified by the subject NP (cf. section 4.2.2.3.).

fùunuu	-	swell	III
fúwa	-	knot	I
fwii	-	plant	I
gàarantii	-	be solid	III
gànyee	-	win	I
hàanyii	-	dare	III
hálakii	-	punish	I
hámme	-	(cause) become ambitious	II
hàramu	-	(cause) become banned <sup>19</sup>	II
hàramundi	-	have a ban placed on	I
hàrijee	-	be lucky	III
hàwuji	-	hurry	III
háyina	-	look at <sup>20</sup>	I
jàa	-	dry	II
jàabi	-	answer	I
jàakali	-	(cause) become confused	II
jàara	-	heal	II
jàasi	-	level <sup>21</sup>	II

<sup>19</sup> Especially of the religious ban placed on pork.

<sup>20</sup> At objects which are distant from the observer  
(cf. féle 'look at').

<sup>21</sup> Of farming ground in preparation for the planting  
of crops.



j`aburu	-	confess <sup>22</sup>	III
j`alayi	-	blame	I
j`ambakeri <sup>23</sup>	-	be green	III
j`amfa	-	be distant	III
j`amfaa	-	trick, deceive	I
j`amung	-	praise in song	I
j`amundi	-	cause to praise in song	I
j`andi	-	upturn	I
j`angayaa <sup>24</sup>	-	be tall	III
j`ani	-	burn, roast	II
j`anjang	-	disperse	II
j`anjandi	-	disperse	I
j`anjankung <sup>25</sup>	-	disperse properly	II
j`ansa	-	donate	I
j`arabi	-	be greedy	III
j`are	-	be suitable	III
j`awiyaa <sup>26</sup>	-	(cause) be bad	II
j`awiyandi	-	worsen	I
j`awu	-	be bad	III
j`ayi	-	praise	I
j`e	-	see	I

<sup>22</sup> Of an alleged witch under the pressure of magic.

<sup>23</sup> cf. j`amba 'leaf' and k`eri 'be green'.

<sup>24</sup> cf. j`ang 'tall' and y`aa 'presence'.

<sup>25</sup> cf. j`anjang and k`ung 'fit, agree'.

<sup>26</sup> cf. j`awu 'bad' and y`aa 'presence'.

jèle	-	laugh (at), mock	III & I <sup>27</sup>
jèlendi	-	cause to laugh	I
jénke	-	be crooked	III
jénkendi	-	twist, warp	I
jìi	-	descend	III & I (Ref) <sup>28</sup>
jìndi	-	lower	I
jìibee <sup>29</sup>	-	examine	I
jìibong <sup>30</sup>	-	water	I
jìijaa	-	nod	II
jìiki	-	hope (for)	III & I <sup>31</sup>
jìkindi	-	cause to hope	I
jìmi	-	stoop	III
jìmindì	-	cause to stoop	I
jìyaa	-	lodge	II
jìyandi	-	lodge	I
jòlong	-	drop	II
jómoli	-	become astounded	III
jònkoto	-	squat	III
jóo	-	pay	I
jùнку	-	thump	I

<sup>27</sup> jèle is one of a small number of verbs which allow the optional presence of an object NP without the characteristic of the feature of causation associated with the Class II verbs. <sup>28</sup> 'unload' as a reflexive.

<sup>29</sup> Also jùubee (section 2.1.). <sup>30</sup> cf. jìi 'water' and bòng 'pour'. <sup>31</sup> 'hope for' as a Class I verb.

jùruma	-	pile up	II
jùrumanjurumang	-	keep piling up	II
jùsulaa <sup>32</sup>	-	(cause) become happy	II
jùsulandi	-	make happy	I
júuma	-	limp	III
kàanyang	-	(cause) be equal, match	II
kàanyandi	-	make equal	I
káari	-	exclude	I
kàati	-	be useful	III
káawaa	-	become conceited	III
kábari	-	lift hands in prayer	III
kàcaa	-	talk	III
kàcandi	-	cause to talk	I
kàfu	-	join up, increase	II
kàfundi	-	join up	I
kàjee	-	become feverish	III
kálama	-	become aware of	I
kálamuta	-	get to know	I
kálang	-	make an image of	I
kálang	-	become expert	III
káli	-	swear	I (Ref)
kambaaniyaa <sup>33</sup>	-	become a young man	III

<sup>32</sup> cf. jùsu 'liver' and lāa '(cause) lie down'.

<sup>33</sup> cf. kambaani 'youth' and yāa 'presence'.

kámfaa	-	become angry	III
kámfandi	-	annoy, anger	I
kána	-	escape	III
kánandi	-	cause to escape	I
kanatee	-	slaughter	I
kàndi	-	become hot	III
kàndindi	-	heat	I
káning	-	request	I
kánta	-	guard, protect	I
kánu	-	love	I
kára	-	sew	I
kárafa	-	entrust	I
kárang	-	read	I
kárandi	-	teach	I
kárang <sup>34</sup>	-	become educated	III
kárung	-	become overgrown	III
kásabi	-	count	I
kásankee	-	shroud	I
káta	-	attempt, prevail upon	I
kata	-	approach	III
kátandi	-	make approach	I
káti	-	break	II
káwandi	-	instruct, preach to	I

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<sup>34</sup> This verb and the related kárang 'read' are discussed in the following appendix.

ké	-	(cause) come about <sup>35</sup>	II
kèebayaa <sup>36</sup>	-	become old	III
kéerindi	-	instigate	I
kéetaa <sup>37</sup>	-	succeed by inheritance	I
kéetalaa <sup>38</sup>	-	divide (in an inheritance)	I
kéle	-	(cause) fight	II
kelendi	-	cause to fight, provoke	I
kéndeyaa <sup>39</sup>	-	be sound, healthy	III
kéng.	-	become fat	III
kéndi	-	fatten, enrich	I
kéri	-	be green	III
kétu	-	(cause) lose consciousness	II
kíbaari	-	inform	I
kíbiri	-	be exciting	III
kibirindi	-	make exciting	I
kídi	-	rush	III
kídimandi	-	celebrate	I

<sup>35</sup> As ké appears with or without an object NP the English translation varies as 'do', 'make' and 'cause' (with object NP) and 'come about', 'happen' and 'become' (without object NP).

<sup>36</sup> cf. kèebaa 'old man' and yaa 'presence'.

<sup>37</sup> cf. kée 'inheritance' and tāa '(cause) go', i.e. 'take'.

<sup>38</sup> cf. kée and tálaa 'divide'.

<sup>39</sup> cf. kénde 'sound' and yaa 'presence'.

kii	-	send	I
kiiroo	-	become lonely	III
kiitii	-	(cause) go on trial	II
kiitindi	-	judge	I
kili	-	call, summon	I
kiling <sup>40</sup>	-	be the same	III
king	-	bite	I
kiri	-	disintegrate	II
ko <sup>41</sup>	-	say	Type y
kóbi	-	plough	I
kóleyaa	-	be difficult	III
kóleyandi	-	make difficult	I
kómong	-	become rusty	III
kóng	-	hate	I
kónkoduu	-	plant <sup>42</sup>	I
kónkong	-	knock on, tap on	I
kónomaa	-	(cause) become pregnant	II
kónsimbara	-	heap up <sup>43</sup>	I
kónti	-	count out	I
kóntinee	-	continue	II
kónting	-	be strong	III

<sup>40</sup> cf. kiling 'one'. <sup>41</sup> Section 4.2.4.5.

<sup>42</sup> By using a special hoe, also kónkoduu.

<sup>43</sup> Of groundnuts after they have been dug up from the ground.

kóntong	-	have lunch	III
kòntong	-	greet	I
kòntonkontong	-	keep greeting	I
kòo	-	(cause) go away	II
kòokolee	-	crow	III
kóora	-	rake	I
kòri	-	fail	III
kòrindi	-	tire	I
kòrisele	-	close with a bolt	I
kóronto	-	hurry	III
kòroosi	-	examine	I
kósi	-	sound	II
kótobo	-	test	I
kòtoo	-	become old, age	III
kòtondi	-	age, make old	I
kóyi	-	be light	III
kóyindi	-	make light, explain	I
kúbi	-	fracture	II
kúcukucu	-	move around	II
kúliyaa	-	respect	I
kúliyaa	-	be heavy	III
kúliyandi	-	make heavy	I
kúliyaajawu <sup>44</sup>	-	be awfully heavy	II

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<sup>44</sup> cf. kúliyaa and jáwu 'be bad'.



kùllii <sup>45</sup>	-	(cause) head become shaved <sup>46</sup>	II
kúluu	-	(cause) become well-mannered	II
kúma	-	speak	III
kúmandi	-	cause to speak	I
kúmaasi	-	begin	II
kúmakaa	-	barter for	I
kúmandi	-	command, summon	I
kúmbuu	-	wail	III
kúmbondi	-	cause to wail	I
kúmfaa	-	complete	I
kúmpa	-	perplex	I
kúmpabo	-	visit	I
kúmu	-	be sour	III
kúmundi	-	make sour	I
kúndaani	-	(cause) become safe <sup>47</sup>	II
kúng	-	fit, agree	III
kúning	-	wake up	II
kúindi	-	wake up	I
kúniyaa	-	be greedy	III
kúntu	-	cut, slice	II
kúntunkutung	-	cut into pieces	II

<sup>45</sup> cf. kúng 'head' and líi '(cause) become shaved'.

<sup>46</sup> Of the child's head when it is shaved at the naming-ceremony.

<sup>47</sup> By the protection of magic charms.

k̀unung	-	swallow	I
kúpi	-	capsize	III
kúpindi	-	cause to capsize	I
kútayaa <sup>48</sup>	-	be new	III
kútayandi	-	make new	I
kútubu	-	open ceremoniously <sup>49</sup>	II
k̀uu	-	wash	I
kúu	-	come about <sup>50</sup>	III
k̀uurang	-	become ill	III
kwi'yaa	-	be bad	III
kwi'yandi	-	make bad	I
kwi'yang	-	circumcise	I
ĺaa	-	(cause) lie down	II
ĺandi	-	lay	I
ĺabang	-	finish, end	III
ĺabara	-	become thin	III
ĺafi	-	want	III
ĺafindi	-	cause to want	I
ĺakati	-	spoil	II
ĺakura	-	finish	II
ĺamfee	-	pass round	I

<sup>48</sup> cf. kúta 'new' and yáa 'presence'.

<sup>49</sup> Especially of a newly-built mosque.

<sup>50</sup> Only found with s̀uu 'night', as in s̀uo kúu ta 'night came'.

lámoyi	-	listen to	I
lànjuru	-	(cause) become disabled	II
lányining	-	intervene	III
lápí	-	beat, slap	I
lèe <sup>51</sup>	-	be	Type y
lèse	-	carve	II
líi	-	(cause) become shaved, peel off	II
lindang	-	pasture	II
lóng	-	know	I
lónđi	-	cause to know, inform	I
lòo	-	stand	II
lòndi	-	stand	I
lòokung <sup>52</sup>	-	stand properly	II
luwaasi	-	hire	I
màa	-	touch	I
máa <sup>53</sup>	-	grant	Type y
màabee	-	participate	III
máabo	-	(cause) lie hidden	II
máadiming	-	wound	I
máakoyi	-	help	I
màalaa	-	sway	III

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<sup>51</sup> Section 4.2.4.3.

<sup>53</sup> Section 4.2.4.2.

<sup>52</sup> cf. lòo and kúng 'fit, agree'

m̃amang	-	move	III
m̃amandi	-	spur on	I
m̃aneenee	-	encourage	I
m̃ala	-	light	II
m̃alamala	-	sparkle	III
m̃aliyandi	-	tame	I
m̃alu	-	(cause) become ashamed	II
m̃alundi	-	shame	I
m̃ansayaa <sup>54</sup>	-	become king	III
m̃ara	-	rule	III & I <sup>55</sup>
m̃arisee	-	investigate	I
m̃ee	-	spend a long time	III
m̃elung	-	be sharp	III
m̃elundi	-	sharpen	I
m̃ending <sup>56</sup>	-	take a short time	III
m̃eng	-	grow up	III
m̃eseyaa <sup>57</sup>	-	be small	III
m̃eyaa	-	make nostalgic	I
m̃iira	-	think	I
m̃iirandi	-	cause to think	I

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<sup>54</sup> cf. m̃ansa 'king' and ỹaa 'presence'.

<sup>55</sup> cf. footnote 27. As a Class I verb it corresponds to 'hold sway over'.

<sup>56</sup> cf. m̃ee and d̃ing 'small'.

<sup>57</sup> cf. m̃eseng 'small, tiny' and ỹaa 'presence'.

míng	-	drink	I
míndi	-	cause to drink, water	I
míníng	-	coil, twist	II
mínimminíng	-	wrap around	II
mòo	-	ripen	III
móomoo	-	feel	I
móosi	-	rub, massage	I
móyi	-	hear	I
mu <sup>58</sup>	-	(equative) be	Type y
múlúng	-	appear	III
múlunjawiyaa <sup>59</sup>	-	be ugly	III
múluyyaa <sup>60</sup>	-	be similar	III
múnta	-	seem	III
múnya	-	persevere (with)	III & I <sup>61</sup>
múru	-	return	III
múrunđi	-	return	I
múrummurung	-	encircle	I
múta	-	catch	II <sup>62</sup>
múťandí	-	light	I
múu	-	daub	I

<sup>58</sup> Section 4.2.4.1. <sup>59</sup> cf. múlúng, jáwu 'bad' and yáa.

<sup>60</sup> cf. múlúng and yáa 'presence'.

<sup>61</sup> 'persevere with' as Class I.

<sup>62</sup> Without an object NP it combines with dímbaa 'fire' to indicate the flaring up of a fire.

múura	-	close over	II
múwi	-	smile	III
n̄aa	-	come	III
n̄aafa	-	be lazy	III
n̄aasi	-	diminish	II
n̄aati	-	bring	I
n̄afaa	-	help, aid	I
n̄ama	-	cut	II
n̄eenee	-	flatter	I
n̄ene	-	taste	I
n̄eng	-	insult	I
n̄etemunku <sup>63</sup>	-	be yellow	III
n̄ewung	-	swim	III
n̄ii	-	give	I
n̄iibo <sup>64</sup>	-	satisfy	I
n̄iijii <sup>65</sup>	-	breathe	I (Ref)
n̄iking	-	imitate, learn	I
n̄ikindi	-	train	I
n̄imisa	-	regret	III

<sup>63</sup> cf. n̄ete 'locust-bean' and m̄unku 'powder'. Most of the colour terms in the language appear to be of this non-basic type, e.g. m̄ampatabaloo 'grey', lit. 'mud-surface-the' and j̄ambakeri (q.v.), or loans (b̄uluu).

<sup>64</sup> cf. n̄ii 'spirit' and b̄o (q.v.). <sup>65</sup> cf. n̄ii and j̄ii, 'unload spirit'.

níng	-	learn	I
níndi	-	teach	I
nòo	-	master, achieve	I
nòo	-	be dirty	III
nòoni	-	mix	II
nóora <sup>66</sup>	-	smell (something with a neutral odour)	I
nóora <sup>66</sup>	-	have a neutral odour	III
nóro	-	wither	III
nùkung	-	hide	II
nùkundi	-	hide	I
núng	-	hide	II
nunku	-	peel, shave head	II
nunku	-	be fat	III
nùunuu	-	trace out	II
ngálasí	-	glitter	III
ngàniyaa	-	intend	I
ngányaa	-	scratch	I
ngélingeli	-	sparkle, glimmer	III
ngóji	-	be bent	III
ngòrintinngorinting	-	scratch away at	I
ngúnuma	-	crawl	III

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<sup>66</sup> These are classed as homonyms, after a similar treatment of the verb 'smell' in English by Palmer (1965:100). cf. séera and sùnkang.



nyàama <sup>67</sup>	-	become grassy	III
nyàami	-	mix	II
nyàng	-	have a duty	III
nyápi	-	fall upon	III
nyárandi	-	dress up	I
nyénje	-	peel in patterns	II
nyénte	-	approach	I
nyiinyaa	-	be beautiful	III
nyími	-	eat up, chew	II
nyína	-	forget	III
nyínandi	-	cause to forget	I
nyíning	-	seek	I
nyininkaa	-	ask	I
nyònkoto	-	kneel	III
nyóyi	-	kneel	III
nyúng	-	load up	I (Ref)
pàasuwaari	-	sift	II
pàmping	-	extend	II
pàree	-	prepare	II
pàrendi	-	make ready	I
pàsing	-	make a sign to <sup>68</sup>	I
péesa	-	weigh	II

<sup>67</sup> cf. nyàama 'grass'. <sup>68</sup> Of the 'secret' signs taught at the initiation ceremonies in the bush.

pəmpəŋ	-	nail	II
pétu	-	chop	II
pétumpetung	-	chop away at	I
píriyu	-	become confused	III
pisaali	-	become forgetful	III
pódi	-	jump	III
pódimpoding	-	jump about	III
póosee	-	post	I
saa	-	die	III
saabang	-	race	I
saabu	-	cause	I
saareng	-	(cause) become buried	II
saasaa	-	clear up <sup>69</sup>	II
saasaa	-	fall ill	III
saata	-	follow after, succeed	I
saba	-	be strong	III
saba	-	pull	I
sabari	-	pause	III & I (Ref)
sadaa	-	give alms to	I
safee	-	write	I
sali	-	pray	III & I <sup>70</sup>
salindi	-	lead in prayer	I

<sup>69</sup> Of farm land in preparation for planting.

<sup>70</sup> As a Class I verb sali combines with a 'cognate' NP, e.g. saliwaatoo 'the prayer time'.

sàmani	-	summons	I
samba	-	carry	I
sang	-	pass in trade <sup>71</sup>	II
sangara	-	be dangerous	III
sankaa	-	take into account	I
sansang	-	fence round	I
santi	-	comb	I
sapi	-	fall upon	III
sara <sup>72</sup>	-	take leave	III
sari	-	broadcast (rice)	II
sariti	-	bargain	III
sawung	-	(cause) jump	II
sawundi	-	cause to jump	I
sawunsawung	-	jump about	III
sayi	-	return	II
sayindi	-	return	I
seefuyaa <sup>73</sup>	-	become chief	III
seera <sup>74</sup>	-	smell (something fragrant)	I
seera <sup>74</sup>	-	be fragrant	III
seewoo	-	relax, become relieved	III
seewondi	-	make relaxed	I

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<sup>71</sup> sang is not marked for the source or direction of a traded object as 'buy' and 'sell' are in English.

<sup>72</sup> Also sari. <sup>73</sup> cf. seefu 'chief' and yaa 'presence'.

<sup>74</sup> cf. treatment of noora.

séle	-	climb	III
sélendi	-	cause to climb	I
sembe	-	lean	III
sène	-	farm	I
séneyaa	-	be clean	III
séneyandi	-	clean	I
seng	-	knock	II
sépu	-	chop	I
sèyi	-	chop	I
sii	-	sit	III
sindi	-	seat	I
sii	-	suit, fit	II
siiboo	-	dream	III
siibondi	-	cause to dream	I
siimang	-	have supper	III
siimayaa	-	become long-lived	III
siinoo	-	fall asleep	III
siira	-	(cause) become faint	II
sika	-	lift up	II
sila	-	(cause) become afraid	II
silandi	-	make afraid	I
sinang	-	become wet	III
sing	-	dig out	II
siti	-	tie, fasten	II
sitindi	-	cause to be tied	I

sítikong	-	cast a spell over	I
siyaa	-	be plenty	III
siyandi	-	make plentiful	I
siyaa jawu <sup>75</sup>	-	be awfully plentiful	III
só	-	bestow upon	I
sóbi	-	suspect	III
sòng	-	agree	III
sónka	-	quarrel	III
sónto	-	become unwanted	III
sòo	-	puncture, burst	II
sòobeyaa	-	be studious	III
sóodi	-	load up	II
sòonoyaa	-	relax, become at ease	III
sòosoo	-	disagree (with)	III & I <sup>76</sup>
sòri	-	leave early	III
sòrong	-	shoot up <sup>77</sup>	III
sòrong	-	lock up, close up	II
sòso	-	fill up	II
sòto	-	obtain	II <sup>78</sup>
sùjutu	-	bow	III & I (Ref)

<sup>75</sup> cf. siyaa and jáwu 'be bad'

<sup>76</sup> 'disagree with' as a Class I verb.

<sup>77</sup> Of weeds around the ridges at the farm.

<sup>78</sup> When there is no object NP present the English equivalent is often 'exist'.

súleng	-	leak	III
súmang	-	measure	II
súmayaa	-	become cold	III
súmbu	-	kiss, lick	I
súng	-	have effect, depend	III
súng	-	fast	III & I <sup>79</sup>
sùnkang <sup>80</sup>	-	smell (something unpleasant)	I
sùnkang <sup>80</sup>	-	have a foul odour	III
súnsu	-	heap	II
sùnu	-	grieve	II
sútiyaa <sup>81</sup>	-	be short	III
sútiyandi	-	make short, make close	I
sùtura	-	(cause) become secret	II
súuki	-	close up	II
sùula	-	worry	II
súunu	-	become bereaved	III
sùunya	-	steal	I
sùura	-	pound (rice) from stalk	I
súuru	-	have early meal <sup>82</sup>	III
súusaa	-	rub	I

<sup>79</sup> As a Class I verb súng combines with a 'cognate' NP in object position, e.g. súnkaroo 'the month of fasting', i.e. Ramadan.

<sup>80</sup> cf. treatment of nóora. <sup>81</sup> cf. súteng 'short' and yáa 'presence'. <sup>82</sup> In Ramadan.

sùusuu	-	suckle	II
sùusundi	-	suckle	I
sùutee	-	recognise	I
tàa	-	(cause) go	II <sup>83</sup>
táama	-	journey, walk	III
táamandi	-	cause to walk, organise	I
táamantaamang	-	walk around	III
táamakung <sup>84</sup>	-	walk properly	III
tábi	-	cook	II
táki	-	strike	II
tálaa	-	divide, separate	II
támbi	-	pass by	III
támbindi	-	cause to pass by	I
támpong	-	knock down	I
tánka	-	(cause) become safe	II
tára <sup>85</sup>	-	meet with, be found	III & I <sup>86</sup>
tára	-	sweat	III
táradee	-	become late	III
táradendi	-	make late	I
táriyaa	-	be swift	III

<sup>83</sup> With an object NP tàa corresponds to 'take'

<sup>84</sup> cf. táama and kung 'fit, agree'. <sup>85</sup> Also tári.

<sup>86</sup> As a Class III verb 'be found', as a Class I verb 'meet with'. This verb will be treated in Appendix B.



tāwu	-	act deliberately	III
tāwung	-	close	II
táyimaamu	-	perform token washing for prayer	III
te <sup>87</sup>	-	not be	Type y
tée	-	go across	III
téndi	-	take across	I
tée	-	break, shatter	II
tèeling	-	refer to	I
téemandi <sup>88</sup>	-	halve	I
témbe	-	be level	III
témbendi	-	level off	I
tènkung	-	become quiet	III
tii	-	fly	III
tiling	-	straighten	II
tilindi	-	straighten	I
timpa	-	slap	I
tinna	-	cause	I
tinyaa	-	spoil	II
tinyantinyang	-	utterly spoil	II
tinyang	-	spend the day	III
típa	-	roof	I
tisoo	-	sneeze	III

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<sup>87</sup> Section 4.2.4.7.

<sup>88</sup> cf. téema 'half'.

tòlindi	-	rot	I
tòloo	-	(cause) become installed	II
tòmbong	-	pick up	I
tóndi	-	drip	II
tóonyi	-	provoke	I
tóora	-	worry, tire	II
tóorandi	-	trouble	I
tóotoo	-	cough	III
tópotoo	-	look after	I
tórotoro	-	rub	I
tú	-	(cause) become left behind, (cause) remain	II
túlung	-	play	III
túneng	-	sink	III
túnkang	-	forge	II
túpi	-	spit	I
tútuu	-	plant	II
túu	-	pound	II
túubi	-	become converted	III
túubindi	-	convert	I
túutuu	-	erase	I
waa	-	carry on with	I
wáafi	-	sell	II
waali	-	disagree	III
wáanyari	-	(cause) become exposed	II

wādani	-	call for prayers	III
wákili	-	decide	III & I (Ref)
waling	-	approach	I
wára	-	(cause) be large	II
wárandi	-	enlarge	I
wásawasa	-	descale (fish)	I
wáti	-	help, aid	I
wérendende	-	unfold	II
wéreng	-	knot	II
wísitee	-	search	I
wòlojii	-	dribble	III
wòosii	-	attract sympathy	III
wóyo	-	pour	II
wúlee	-	be red	III
wulendi	-	reddden	I
wúli	-	get up	III
wúlindi	-	raise	I
wúluu	-	(cause) become born	II <sup>89</sup>
wúrang	-	undress	I
wúri	-	howl	III
wurunda	-	hurl	II
wútu	-	(cause) become removed	II

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<sup>89</sup> wúluu is used of mammals and grain-bearing crops. Without an object NP it sometimes corresponds to 'give birth' as in a wúluu ta 'she gave birth'.

yàamari	-	advise	I
yàamu	-	become disturbed	III
yàamundi	-	tamper with, disturb	I
yàmfa	-	forgive, allow	III
yánka	-	float	III
yankankati	-	punish	I
yayi	-	wander	III
yayiyayi	-	wander around	III
yèemang	-	disappear	III
yèesiyeesi	-	dawdle	III
yéle	-	open	II
yèlema	-	change, turn	III
yèlemandi	-	change	I
yilla	-	expect	I (Ref)
yiriwa	-	prosper	III
yiriwandi	-	cause to prosper	I
yita	-	show	I
yitandi	-	show	I
yóolee	-	go away stealthily	III
yóora	-	become less	III
yóoti	-	wheedle	I
yoronda	-	transport	I
yúura	-	become unbalanced	III

Appendix B

Frequency of Occurrence  
of Selected Verbs

## Appendix B

### Frequency of Occurrence of Selected Verbs

In order to serve as a check on, and so confirm, the verb classification established in section 4.2.2.3. by examining and taking note of the possibilities of combination with or without an object nominal phrase shown by verbs in the corpus, three groups of recorded texts<sup>1</sup> provided by three informants were studied and occurrences of verbs with or without an object nominal phrase noted. The results of this analysis for certain verbs are tabulated in Tables 1, 2 and 3, which represent the findings for the verbs found in texts recorded by informants A, B and C respectively.

Six hours of recordings made by A, the main informant, aged 25 years and from Kudang in the MacCarthy Island Division, were checked and all instances of every verb contained there noted with details of any object nominal phrase accompanying it. Those verbs with the highest rate of frequency were extracted and are listed in Table 1, which cites the verbs with a translation

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<sup>1</sup> These recordings, whatever their source, were unscripted and spontaneous.

Table 1

List of Selected Verbs Recording  
Instances of Combination with or without  
Nominal Phrase - Informant A

	+0	-0	+0 %	-0
<u>Class I Verbs</u>				
<u>bóndi</u> 'remove'	33	-	100.00	-
<u>bùutee</u> 'beat'	77	-	100.00	-
<u>dii</u> 'give'	127	-	100.00	-
<u>dómo</u> 'eat'	71	-	100.00	-
<u>fíntindi</u> 'take out'	29	-	100.00	-
<u>fó</u> 'say'	347	1	99.71	.29
<u>jé</u> 'see'	248	1	99.60	.40
<u>jiibee</u> 'examine'	36	-	100.00	-
<u>lándi</u> 'lay'	15	-	100.00	-
<u>lóng</u> 'know'	216	1	99.54	.46
<u>móyi</u> 'hear'	39	-	100.00	-
<u>nàati</u> 'bring'	55	-	100.00	-
<u>nóo</u> 'master'	184	-	100.00	-
<u>nyíning</u> 'seek'	26	-	100.00	-
<u>samba</u> 'carry'	73	-	100.00	-
<u>sáyindi</u> 'return'	11	-	100.00	-
<u>tinna</u> 'cause'	81	-	100.00	-
<u>yélemendi</u> 'change'	10	-	100.00	-

over...



## - continuation of Table 1 -

	+0	-0	+0 %	-0
<u>Class II Verbs</u>				
<u>báng</u> 'finish'	12	57	17.39	82.61
<u>bó</u> '(cause) go out'	17	80	17.53	82.47
<u>bùla</u> '(cause) become placed'	38	43	46.92	53.08
<u>fàa</u> '(cause) die'	85	51	62.50	37.50
<u>fáa</u> 'fill'	19	30	38.78	61.22
<u>jàakali</u> '(cause) become confused'	18	7	72.00	28.00
<u>kàfu</u> 'increase'	16	10	61.54	38.46
<u>káti</u> 'break'	14	16	46.67	53.33
<u>ké</u> '(cause) come about'	379	252	60.06	39.94
<u>láa</u> '(cause) lie down'	82	27	75.23	24.77
<u>lòo</u> 'stand'	55	41	57.29	42.71
<u>sàyi</u> 'return'	9	37	19.57	80.43
<u>sòo</u> 'puncture'	11	7	61.11	38.89
<u>sòto</u> 'obtain'	202	38	84.17	15.83
<u>tàa</u> '(cause) go'	113	736	13.31	86.69
<u>tèe</u> 'break'	18	10	64.29	35.71
<u>tínyaa</u> 'spoil'	21	9	70.00	30.00
<u>tú</u> '(cause) become left behind'	33	24	57.89	42.11

over...

## - continuation of Table 1 -

	+0	-0	+0	% -0
<u>Class III Verbs</u>				
<u>béteyaa</u> 'be good'	-	19	-	100.00
<u>diyamu</u> 'speak'	-	29	-	100.00
<u>finti</u> 'go out'	-	30	-	100.00
<u>futa</u> 'arrive'	-	52	-	100.00
<u>kuma</u> 'speak'	-	56	-	100.00
<u>lafi</u> 'want'	-	145	-	100.00
<u>munta</u> 'seem'	-	270	-	100.00
<u>naa</u> 'come'	-	457	-	100.00
<u>nyang</u> 'have a duty'	-	166	-	100.00
<u>nyina</u> 'forget'	-	54	-	100.00
<u>sii</u> 'sit'	-	21	-	100.00
<u>siyaa</u> 'be plenty'	-	38	-	100.00
<u>song</u> 'agree'	-	50	-	100.00
<u>tambi</u> 'pass by'	-	32	-	100.00
<u>wuli</u> 'get up'	-	24	-	100.00
<u>yelema</u> 'change'	-	31	-	100.00
<u>Other Verbs</u>				
<u>bori</u> 'run'	25	19	56.81	43.19
<u>jiki</u> 'hope'	16	4	80.00	20.00
<u>karang</u> 'read'	16	-	100.00	-
<u>karang</u> 'become educated'	-	13	-	100.00
<u>sali</u> 'pray'	4	39	9.30	90.70
<u>tara</u> 'meet, find'	92	70	56.79	43.21

Table 2List of Selected Verbs-Informant B

	+0	-0	+0 %	-0
<u>Class I Verbs</u>				
<u>dii</u> 'give'	65	-	100.00	-
<u>fayi</u> 'throw'	35	-	100.00	-
<u>fó</u> 'say'	273	2	99.29	.71
<u>jé</u> 'see'	149	-	100.00	-
<u>landi</u> 'lay'	10	-	100.00	-
<u>lòndi</u> 'stand'	10	-	100.00	-
<u>lóng</u> 'know'	96	1	98.97	1.03
<u>móyi</u> 'hear'	35	-	100.00	-
<u>nòo</u> 'master'	68	-	100.00	-
<u>samba</u> 'carry'	70	-	100.00	-
<u>Class II Verbs</u>				
<u>báng</u> 'finish'	25	46	35.21	64.79
<u>faa</u> '(cause) die'	217	59	78.62	21.38
<u>ké</u> '(cause) come about'	186	134	58.12	41.88
<u>lää</u> '(cause) lie down'	82	22	78.85	21.15
<u>lòo</u> 'stand'	32	64	33.33	66.67
<u>Other Verbs</u>				
<u>kàrang</u> 'read'	5	-	100.00	-
<u>tára</u> 'meet'	57	12	82.60	17.40

Table 3List of Selected Verbs-Informant C

	+0	-0	+0	%	-0
<u>Class I Verbs</u>					
<u>díi</u> 'give'	71	-	100.00		-
<u>fáyi</u> 'throw'	50	-	100.00		-
<u>fó</u> 'say'	103	-	100.00		-
<u>jé</u> 'see'	56	-	100.00		-
<u>láidi</u> 'lay'	4	-	100.00		-
<u>lòndi</u> 'stand'	8	-	100.00		-
<u>lóng</u> 'know'	74	-	100.00		-
<u>móyi</u> 'hear'	17	-	100.00		-
<u>nóo</u> 'master'	38	-	100.00		-
<u>samba</u> 'carry'	56	-	100.00		-
<u>Class II Verbs</u>					
<u>báng</u> 'finish'	5	13	27.78		72.22
<u>fàa</u> '(cause) die'	72	25	74.22		25.78
<u>ké</u> '(cause) come about'	129	77	62.62		37.38
<u>láa</u> '(cause) lie down'	27	8	77.14		22.86
<u>lòo</u> 'stand'	22	35	38.60		61.40
<u>Other Verbs</u>					
<u>tara</u> 'meet'	91	8	91.91		8.09

in the first column and the number of appearances of these verbs with or without an object nominal phrase in the span of recordings examined in the second and third columns respectively. The fourth and fifth columns indicate the relevant percentages.

To ensure that the distributional properties of the verbs noted were idiosyncratic neither to the idiolect nor the dialect of A, two further sets of narratives were checked; these consisted of four hours of recordings, all stories, made by B, aged 22 and from Mandori in Baddibu, on the north bank of the river and approximately seventy miles to the west of the home of A, and five hours of narratives, mainly on the exploits of past kings and chiefs of the area, provided by C, aged 50, who was originally from Bansang, about thirty miles to the east of A's home, but had been resident in and around the capital, Bathurst, for the previous fifteen years.

Since an examination of the texts of B and C revealed that verbs which were common in recordings made by A were also, with few exceptions<sup>2</sup>, of frequent occurrence in theirs, to enable a comparison to be made of verbs which appeared regularly throughout the three

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<sup>2</sup> One of these was kàrang 'read' or 'become educated', which had only a sporadic distribution in the texts of B and C.



groups of narratives, those verbs were taken into account for Tables 2 and 3 which would allow suitable evaluation for purposes of comparison because of their high frequency rate throughout the recordings under examination. The commonest verbs listed in Table 1 thus provided the set of verbs whose distribution was to be checked for Tables 2 and 3.

The Class III verbs were entirely regular in the recordings, never combining with an object nominal phrase; for this reason only a selection of Class III verbs from informant A is given with figures of their occurrence. Within this selection finti and yelema are to be noted since the derived forms of these verbs by suffixation, fintindi and yelemandi, listed under the Class I verbs, provide their causative counterparts. The percentages derivable from the occurrences of fintindi as against finti and yelemandi as against yelema, 49.17 and 24.39 respectively, are within the range of those arrived at for the instances of the Class II verbs with an object.

Although absolutely identical figures for the appearance of a Class II verb with or without an object nominal phrase could not be expected, some of the more uneven ratios found in the three tables for the Class II verbs are explainable as the result of divided function or as the consequence of some special

feature of the verb, grammatical or semantic. Thus, for informant A the percentages relating to the appearance of an object nominal phrase with the verbs bó and sàyi are artificially low since their function as transitives is shared by those verbs derived from them by suffixation, bóndi and sàyindi. If the distribution of the latter is taken into account, more even figures of 38.46% and 35.09% respectively for the instances of the presence of an object with the simple verbs or their suffixed derivatives are obtained. Similarly, in Tables 2 and 3, if the figures for lòndi are added to the figures cited for the appearance of lòo with an object, figures of 39.62% and 46.15% are obtained for the combined totals of the number of instances of the presence of an object with the simple or derived verb in the texts informants B and C provided; if the unlisted figure of five appearances of lòndi in the recordings of informant A is combined with the number of instances of lòo with an object in the same recordings, the slightly higher percentage of 59.41 over the occurrences without an object nominal phrase is obtained. In contrast, the percentages worked out for the presence of an object nominal phrase with the verb lāa in all of the three sets of texts are artificially low, as the occurrences of the verb derived from it, lāndi, in the recordings of the three informants



show. Addition of the number of instances of lánda to the figure obtained for the occurrence of lái with an accompanying object nominal phrase in the three sets of texts would yield percentages of 78.23, 80.70 and 79.50 respectively compared with the figures arrived at for the frequency of lái without an object. These percentages, which show a high degree of accord in the distribution of lái and its derivative in the speech of the three informants in fluctuating only within the range of about 2%, are consistently high and reflect the frequency with which lái combines with a reflexive pronominal in object position, as in à y'ee láai 'he lay down' or 'he laid himself down'.<sup>3</sup>

Consistency of usage in the distribution of the three verbs báng, fàa and ké throughout the narratives is also observable. The tendency of báng to appear more often without, and fàa to appear more often with, an object nominal phrase is linked to special features which these verbs have in common when they are used to refer to similar sets of events. When no object nominal phrase is present, báng has the more restricted and

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<sup>3</sup> lòò does not so frequently combine with a reflexive pronominal; when it does there is a slight change of meaning to 'make a stand', as in à y'ee lòò 'he made a stand' or 'he was firm' (cf. à lòò ta 'he stood (up)').

narrower sense of termination of life in some contexts; in this sense it then corresponds with fàa, becoming almost a substitute for this verb when appearing without an object.<sup>4</sup> fàa, however, as the figures show, tends to appear more often with an object than without one; this seems to indicate a marked preference on the part of the three speakers for fàa over báng when an object nominal phrase is present and for báng over fàa when no such phrase is present.<sup>5</sup> By contrast, there may be no other explanation for the slightly higher proportion of appearances of ké with an object than without one than that the speakers chose, wherever possible, to name the instigator or effective cause in clauses which contained this verb. Such an explanation could then apply to the use of those verbs of Class II listed in Table 1 which are more commonly found with an attendant object nominal phrase than without one, such as jàakali,

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<sup>4</sup> báng may well be used as a non-taboo, apotropaic equivalent for the less euphemistic fàa, with its more marked associations with death (cf. the proliferation of circumlocutions within this semantic range in English, such as 'pass away/over' or 'go to sleep').

<sup>5</sup> Although it has no bearing on the ratios involved, it is noticeable that fàa often refers to death brought about by physical violence and báng to death where such externally induced causes are absent.

kàfu, sòò, sòto, tèe, tìnyaa and tú.

Although fairly even proportions resulted for the verbs bùla and káti, there was some unevenness in the figures obtained for tàa. No adequate explanation for this was found, though a similar unevenness was also to be seen in the proportion of the figures for nàa in the Class III verbs in Table 1 over those for its causative counterpart, naati, a Class I verb. There was thus a marked preference on the part of informant A to refer to unaccompanied, rather than accompanied, departure and arrival.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from the verbs fó, jé and lóng all the Class I verbs in Table 1 were regular, consistently appearing with an object nominal phrase. One instance each for fó, jé and lóng was recorded where no object nominal phrase was present:

Ba.	//	wò	tóo	buka	fó	báske	//
		that	name	ind/hab	say	very	
				neg/non-fut			

'that name is not much used'

Structure: VbCl Type 1a with adjunct of manner.

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<sup>6</sup> But although this was also true in the case of bó, with a greater frequency of this verb without an object than with, even if the figure for bóndi is taken into account, it was not true for fínti over fíntindi, where almost equal percentages obtained.

Bb. // máanyoo jé ta // VbCl Type 1b.  
 bride+det. see ind/cmpl  
 pos/past

'the bride was seen'

Bc. // à lóng ta // VbCl Type 1b.  
 3s know ind/cmpl  
 pos/past

'it was known' or 'it is known' (see section 6.1.3.).

For the Class I verbs in Table 2 a similar pattern was observable, all but two of the verbs being regularly combined with an object nominal phrase. The exceptions were, as in Table 1, found with fó and lóng:

Bd. // fàniyaa bika fó jàng // VbCl Type 1a  
 lying ind/hab say this with adjunct  
 neg/non-fut place of place.

'lies are not spoken here'

Be. // tòonyaa ka fó jàng // VbCl Type 1a  
 truth ind/hab say this with adjunct  
 pos/non-fut place of place.

'truth is spoken here'

Bf. // mùsoo bika lóng // VbCl Type 1a.  
 woman+ ind/hab know  
 det. neg/non-fut

'woman is not known' (i.e. women are fickle or unpredictable).

(bika is the Baddibu equivalent of MacCarthy Island buka.)

It seems that for informants A and B the encroachment of the Class I verbs on the distributional characteristics

of the Class II verbs, noted in section 4.2.2.4., is slight and restricted to the three most common verbs of Class I found in the narratives. If an attempt is made to quantify the degree of this encroachment, as is done in Tables 1 and 2, the results would appear to indicate that if, as was suggested in section 4.2.2.4., the beginnings of a passive voice are emerging, then this process is only in its initial stage. It is to be further noted that although the uncharacteristic distribution of the verbs fó, jé and lóng cited in (Ba) to (Bc) is probably referable to an encroachment on the combinatorial possibilities of the Class II verbs, an alternative interpretation for the uncommon distribution of the verbs fó and lóng in citations (Bd) to (Bf) could be proposed. In these clauses a determining factor could be the aphoristic, almost proverbial, character of the utterances and the lack of regularity in the syntax here could then be attributed to the greater freedom in possible syntactic organisation which is allowable in the case of proverbs in contrast with the more rule-bound organisation found in narratives.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> In Mandinka the greater flexibility which, with proverbs, is often determined by the need for brevity as a mnemonic device also extends to songs, where syntax is often sacrificed to the demands of the music.

But whichever interpretation is adopted this need not influence the tentative conclusions which will be reached below on the basis of the patterns which emerge from the figures given in the three tables on the possible source of this distributional encroachment shown by some verbs.

With the narratives provided by informant C the irregularities noted in the use of the three Class I verbs in the speech of informants A and B disappear and all the Class I verbs listed there consistently appear with an object nominal phrase. Comment is required on the significance of this.

Mention was made in section 4.2.2.4. of the effect of the passive in English or French in possibly being influential in the emergence of a passive voice in Mandinka. There seems to be some justification for attributing influence to this source since the anomalies which appear in the narratives examined are found in those recorded by informants A and B but not in those provided by C.

Informant A, a school-teacher, was fluent in English and had used it since the age of about eight, at school and later in college and in his teaching, though he did not use it at home, where his family were mono-lingual and spoke only Mandinka. Informant B was not so fluent and had never received formal training in



English, though he had been learning English informally for about a year when the recordings were made. But the third informant, who was about thirty years older than A and B, knew no English. Moreover, his profession as a griot or bard, jàloo, required him to narrate the exploits of historical or semi-historical personages and the genealogies of the more important families in the area and, in so doing, serve as a guardian of the traditions of the people and the deeds of their kings and chiefs.<sup>8</sup> This essentially conservative role would tend to reinforce conservatism in language matters, and while archaisms, whether lexical or syntactic, were not obvious in the narratives he provided<sup>9</sup>, it was to be expected that neologisms, more recent loans and any innovation in syntactic matters would be deliberately avoided. This is borne out by the strict regularity found in his speech in the use of the Class I verbs.

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<sup>8</sup> The griot serves a long apprenticeship and is attached, often from an early age, to an experienced musician, who trains him and passes on to him those stories and genealogies which are of cultural importance to the Mandinka. A similar situation, noted by Bird (1970), holds for the griot in Bambara society.

<sup>9</sup> There appeared to be some uncommon lexical items and unusual syntax in the songs which served as a theme for some of the narratives but these songs were not analysed and are not taken into account for the ratios arrived at in Table 3.



As the findings for the distribution of the Class I verbs show, sociological considerations appear to be of importance in any assessment of influences in this part of the language, at the syntactic level. These considerations cover such factors as age, social and educational background and professional status and, since they have a bearing on certain developments in the language, are to be taken into account.<sup>10</sup>

As a final group of verbs to be mentioned are those listed under 'other verbs' in the three tables.

In Table 3 the higher proportion of instances of tára with an object than without one compared with the figures obtained for tára in the narratives recorded by the other two informants would seem to argue for the origin of tára as a Class I verb which, even in the speech of informant C, was assuming the properties of combination of a Class II verb even though, as noted in section 4.2.2.4., there was present in the transitivity function of this verb no element of causation. The percentages obtained for informants A and B for the distribution of this verb serve to indicate the extent

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<sup>10</sup> It is significant that díi 'give' did not occur in the corpus without an object nominal phrase but a díi ta kèò la 'she was given to the husband (in marriage)' was noticed in a news bulletin given on Radio Gambia, where announcers are required to be fluent in English.

to which this overlap has taken place.

kàrang, whether with the meaning 'read' or 'become educated', was not common in the texts recorded by B and C, though it was moderately frequent in the texts recorded by A.

For informant A bòri as a reflexive verb was of slightly higher frequency than as a Class III verb, while jiki appeared more commonly with an object and sáli without an object.

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<sup>1</sup> All the publications referred to in the thesis are listed here. Also included are some of the works which relate wholly or in part to the Gambian Mandinka people or their language and publications which were of especial value in approaching some of the problems involved. Although they are not listed, there is a clear debt to the standard text-books and articles on linguistics.

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